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History of the Presbyterian
churches of the world

History of the Presbyterian Churches of the World

Adapted for use in
the Class Room

✓ BY
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History of the Presbyterian Churches

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

WRITERS sometimes use the term Presbyterian to cover three distinct things, government, doctrine and worship; sometimes to cover doctrine and government. It should be restricted to one thing, namely, Church Government. While it is usually found associated with the Calvinistic system of doctrine, yet this is not necessarily so; nor is it, indeed, as a matter of fact, always so. Presbyterianism and Calvinism seem to have an affinity for one another, but they are not so closely related as to be essential to each other. They can, and occasionally do, live apart. Calvinism is found in the creeds of other than Presbyterian churches; and Presbyterianism is found professing other doctrines than Calvinism. Let it be understood then that Presbyterianism does not signify any particular system of doctrine or form of worship; and that its only and exclusive meaning is a certain form of Church government.

The Apostolic Church Presbyterian.—A complete history of the Presbyterian churches must include the Church founded by the apostles. Taking the government of the synagogue as their model, they organized the Church under very simple forms. They appointed presbyters or elders in every church, and committed to them

its oversight, charging them to "take heed unto . . . all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church," or to exercise pastoral care over it. Some of these presbyters labored in word and doctrine; others did not; but they all ruled. No distinction in name, or qualification, or office was made between them. They were designated indiscriminately by the two titles, bishop and presbyter, and were all exhorted to discharge the duty of pastors. All presbyters were bishops, and all bishops were presbyters. A plurality were appointed in every Christian congregation, and being of equal rank and authority, they must of necessity have exercised their rule jointly. This is Presbyterianism, reduced to its simplest elements—a government in the hands of presbyters, ruling jointly.

The Church of the Second Century.—Assuming that certain letters ascribed to Ignatius are genuine, we learn from them that very early in the second century a distinction began to be made between the presbyters. To one in each church the title of bishop was restricted, and he was accorded superiority over the others. Gradually, and yet very swiftly, the distinction broadened, and by the end of the second century, the bishop was an officer clearly discriminated in rank and authority from the elder. And so it came to pass that at an early period, out of the Presbyterianism established by the apostles, a certain type of episcopacy emerged. The evolution was not simultaneous, however, throughout the entire Church. It progressed more rapidly in some regions than in others. Traces of the older form of government lingered in certain places down to the fourth and fifth centuries. It should also be noted that the episcopacy at first evolved was not diocesan, but parochial.

Each particular church, as that at Smyrna or Philadelphia, had its bishop, its council of elders and its board of deacons. So far as our limited information permits us to judge, the organization of the Church, during the second century, differed in no essential from the organization which we find to-day among the various bodies of Presbyterians. The elders and deacons were substantially the same then as now, and the bishop of the second century differed in no important particular from the Presbyterian pastor or bishop of the twentieth century.

Continued Evolution, Resulting in Papacy.—The process of evolution cannot be traced in all of its details with absolute certainty,—the sources of our knowledge are too limited and defective; but the process can be traced with approximate accuracy in its general outlines. There is reason to think that the process of evolution began by making one presbyter in each congregational presbytery, or session, permanent moderator, just as it is common in our day for this position to be assigned to the preacher, or teaching presbyter in each Presbyterian church. The one selected for permanent moderator would, as a matter of course, be the one noted for superiority of gifts and force of character. On him very naturally, and for the same reason, would devolve the principal care of the church. He would also be the medium of communication between the different churches, and would, therefore, take the lead in all matters affecting the common interests of the various Christian communities. As heresies and other disorders began to affect these communities, his position would grow in importance, and his influence increase in power. It is a well-attested fact that nothing contributed so much to create the office of bishop as an office distinct from that

of presbyter, and to lift it to a position of supremacy in the government of the Church, as the demand for speedy and stringent discipline to suppress rising disorders. The testimony of Jerome, who lived A. D. 340-420, is that "before factions were introduced into religion by the prompting of the devil, the churches were governed by a council of presbyters; but as soon as each man began to consider those whom he had baptized as belonging to himself and not to Christ, it was decided throughout the world that one elected from among the elders should be placed over the rest, so that the care of the church should devolve on him, and the seeds of schism be removed." Again he says: "When afterwards one presbyter was elected that he might be placed over the rest, this was done as a remedy against schism, that each man might not drag to himself, and thus break up the Church of Christ." Bishop Lightfoot quotes approvingly these testimonies of Jerome, and adds: "To the dissensions of Jews and Gentile converts, and to the disputes of gnostic false teachers, the development of episcopacy may be mainly ascribed." The motive which prompted a departure from scriptural simplicity was the belief that, for the preservation of sound doctrine and good order, it was necessary to concentrate power in a few hands, that discipline might be more effectively administered. This motive continued to operate, along with less worthy ones, until parochial episcopacy was changed into diocesan, and that into the papacy. The city bishop was exalted above the country bishop, the metropolitan above the city bishop, the patriarch above the metropolitan, and finally the patriarch of Rome was exalted as Pope over all.

The Extinction of Presbyterianism.—The lifting up of the bishop meant the letting down of the pres-

byter. The latter, having been robbed of the title which defined his scriptural function, was soon robbed of his function itself. Ceasing to be a bishop in name, he ceased to be an overseer in reality. He was degraded to the position of a servant, and had his sphere of labor assigned him by his bishop. Excluded from all part in the government of the church he was deputed by the bishop to preach and administer the sacraments. About this juncture the idea of the sacerdotal character of the ministry was introduced into the church, and in keeping with this idea the presbyter's name was curtailed to priest. As the priestly idea gained ground, a magical virtue was attributed to the sacraments, and preaching was for this reason discredited, and fell into neglect. Henceforth the principal business of the priest was to hear confessions, prescribe penance and celebrate mass. Not only did the ruling elder fall out by the way, but the teaching elder also disappeared, and in their place arose a monstrous creation of a degenerate church—a so-called priest, usurping the functions of the one Mediator, and claiming that by the use of a set phrase, he could change a little wafer into the body and blood of the living and glorified Christ. When all traces of the New Testament presbyter had vanished, there was but little of Presbyterianism left.

Church Polity and the Reformers.—The government of the Church was not made a matter of profound and prayerful investigation by the early reformers. The intimate relation between doctrine and polity was not suspected, and consequently men who were ready to die for purity of doctrine were unconcerned about the constitution of the Church. The uniformity of doctrine throughout the countries that had separated from Rome was re-

markable. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the Bible had been exalted to the position of supreme arbiter, and devout souls everywhere carried their doctrinal problems to the same tribunal and received the same answer. But it did not occur to them that the Bible had a message for them on the subject of the visible form of Christ's kingdom of grace. Church government was left to take care of itself, or to be shaped and determined largely by circumstances of time and place.

State of the Case in England.—Here the Church retained the organization in substantially the same form that it had worn for centuries. This was due, no doubt, to the controlling hand of royalty in shaping the early history of the English Reformation. There were two simultaneous movements, one political, the other religious. The latter concerned itself with doctrine and worship, and left the former to determine the source of ecclesiastical power, and the methods of ecclesiastical administration. The king supplanted the Pope, and Parliament made a few modifications demanded by this change of head. But the government of the Church remained an absolutism, all power emanating from the head, and administered, as formerly, through "archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy." The English Church has set for itself a difficult task. Having cast overboard its infallible Pope, and having accepted the Bible as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, it has spent some three hundred years in trying to prove that its lofty structure of government, with the king at the top, is based on the word of God. It would have been a marvelous thing, if godless sovereigns, shaping the polity of the Church with un-

fettered hand, solely in the interests of their own selfish ends, had shaped it along the lines prescribed in the Bible. The great reformers of the sixteenth century wisely claimed for it no other merit than present convenience. It was an organization prepared to hand, and fitted into the framework of the state. The Pope had claimed to be head over both church and state. When his supremacy was renounced, the person to fill the vacancy could be no other than the king. To reform radically the government of the Church, would mean a revolution of the monarchy. The leaders of the religious movement had no thought of this. They had no scruples of conscience in perpetuating a form of Church government for which no higher warrant could be pleaded than political expediency.

Luther and the Lutherans.—As early as 1520, Luther, in his "address to the German nobles," denied the sacerdotal character of the clergy, teaching that they and the laity constituted one spiritual estate, and that ordination to the ministry was nothing more than the designation of certain persons to be the official servants of the people. He asserted the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, and claimed on this ground the right of God's people to govern themselves, to elect their own pastors, and along with them to exercise discipline. But Luther was deterred by the circumstances of the times from attempting to put into practice these abstract doctrines. He said the Germans were too rough and turbulent to have placed in their hands the power of self-government. The Peasants' War, and the efforts of fanatics to break down the authority of civil magistrates, and to transfer all power to the hands of the "saints," strengthened Luther in his conviction that the times were not ripe for

giving to God's people the rights which he in theory claimed for them. For the present, he believed it was his duty to magnify the functions of the civil ruler, and to encourage the German princes to take a liberal part in the management of ecclesiastical affairs. By the Treaty of Augsburg, 1555, it was granted to each secular ruler to determine what should be the religion of his state. The Lutherans accepted this arrangement without a murmur, and in doing so conceded to the civil power supremacy over the Church. A theory was devised to harmonize this concession with the doctrine of the people's right to rule themselves ecclesiastically. The theory was that in an emergency the rulers were bound to take the lead, not as rulers, however, but as chief members. Unfortunately for the theory, the rulers did not merely take the lead, but they took the whole control, and when the emergency was over, they continued to exercise it.

Various Forms of Polity Among the Lutherans.—Lutheran reformers generally did not attach much importance to the way in which the Church should be governed. They would have been content with the system which Rome had built up, if only it could have been made subservient to the propagation of evangelical doctrine. "If the existing bishops," they said, "would cease from their enmity to the gospel, and embrace the true doctrine, we might patiently endure their authority." The same thought finds expression in the Augsburg Confession: "Now our meaning is not to have rule taken from the bishops; but this one thing only is requested at their hands, that they would suffer the gospel to be purely taught, and that they would relax a few observances which cannot be held without sin." In Sweden the Episcopal form was left standing; in Denmark the

king appointed superintendents, who exercised episcopal functions; in most of the German states, the general management of the Church was placed in the hands of consistories, courts made up of clergy and civil jurists, but with supreme control still lodged with the princes. Says a Lutheran writer, "The Lutheran Church, believing the form of Church government to belong entirely to the accidents of the Church, is ready to adapt its form to changing circumstances. Hence under monarchies, the Church is Episcopal; under aristocracies, Presbyterian; and under republics, Congregational."

Presbyterianism Approximated in Hesse.—The Landgrave Philip, who ruled over the German principality of Hesse, was a very zealous reformer, and was ready to give effect to any measures that might strengthen the Protestant cause. He had, for a time, as his chief adviser in ecclesiastical matters, Francis Lambert, a converted Franciscan. Guided by Lambert, the Synod of Homberg, 1526, devised a Church constitution of an original and liberal character. It defined a particular church as an organization of true believers who were willing to unite in a common subjection to the rules of discipline. The church was to choose its pastors, and these were to exercise discipline to the extent of excluding the unworthy from fellowship. The constitution provided for a synod composed of bishops and delegates from each church, to meet annually, to which all complaints and doubtful questions were to be submitted. This was the nearest approach, in the matter of Church government, which had been made up to that time, to the principles laid down in Scripture. It designed to give effect to the self-governing power of the people—a power which Luther had already said belonged to them.

Luther, however, opposed it, not on theoretical grounds, but because he deemed it impracticable, owing to the ignorance and rudeness of those for whom it was intended. Luther's opposition and other causes prevented its going into full effect.

Zwingli and His Followers.—Zwingli, though a contemporary of Luther, carried on his work absolutely independent of the great Saxon reformer. In many respects he was more thoroughgoing than Luther, and followed the word of God fearlessly in his warfare on the corruptions of Romanism. But clear-sighted as he was, he failed utterly to grasp the true conception of the Church as a body distinct from and independent of the state, with its own code of laws and officers of government. He merged the Church in the state, and placed ecclesiastical authority in the hands of the same Council that ruled the city of Zurich. He believed in barring the unworthy from the communion, but taught that this duty pertained to the Christian magistracy. The only privilege granted to the people was the privilege of objecting to the pastors who were presented to them by the civil authority. *Æcolampadius* and others of Zwingli's followers tried to give to the people some power in the government of the Church; but ultimately the model furnished by Zwingli at Zurich prevailed in nearly all the Swiss cantons.

Presbyterianism and the First Reformers.—It is evident from the foregoing review that in no part of Christendom did the first generation of reformers set themselves, with intelligent and persistent effort, to restore the lost polity of the Church. They went back to the Bible for purity of doctrine, and for a measure of purity in worship, but they did not go there to find a pattern after

which to reform the government of the Church. They did not feel any urgent necessity for reformation in this respect. Church government was not rated by them as a matter of great importance. Their first concern was to escape from the tyranny of the papacy, and to give the people once again the pure evangel. Some were prepared to accept any form of government that might seem most convenient; others were willing to leave the matter largely to be determined by the exigencies of the future; and yet others were disposed to define no visible form for the Church, but treat religion merely as a department of the state.

John Calvin, the Restorer of Presbyterianism.—The same great reformer, to whom we are indebted for our logical system of doctrine, is entitled to recognition as the author of our restored system of government. He seems to have felt, almost from the first moment of his casting in his lot with the Reformation, that there was urgent need for a settled and well-ordered plan of rule in the house of God. He perceived that the fruits of evangelical preaching could not be gathered up and conserved without drawing a distinct boundary line between the Church and the world; that the testimony of holy living could not be given in behalf of the gospel without the exercise of discipline; and that the power of the Reformed faith could not be made effective for aggressive evangelism without a clearly-defined and independent organization. The kingdom of Christ, while not of this world, is nevertheless in this world, and is here for purposes of conquest; it must therefore have visible shape, and in order to have this its limits and powers must be distinctly marked out. John Calvin went directly to the Bible for the model. He found it in the simple presby-

terial forms prescribed and practiced by the apostles. He devoted about one sixth of his great work, "Institutes of the Christian Religion," to the subject of church government; and if he did not trace all the lines with fair accuracy, he at any rate discovered the essential principles. Having discovered these, he set himself with all the pertinacity of his inflexible will to give them practical effect. It was his effort to establish church government that brought him into collision with the civil authorities. Had he been content merely "to preach the word . . . reprove, rebuke, exhort with all longsuffering and doctrine," the current of his life might have flowed smoothly. It was his attempt to make the ecclesiastical court an independent tribunal, free from state control, that brought on the conflict; and it was in this conflict that the lofty heroism of his character was brought to light. For fifteen years he waged a doubtful warfare, often putting his life in jeopardy, and only nine years before his death did he achieve the final victory. Great as was the service which he rendered to the Reformed Church as a theologian, not less great was the service which he rendered as an ecclesiastic.

Influence of Restored Presbyterianism.—In restoring the scriptural rule of presbytery, Calvin gave the laity a full half share in the government of the Church. One effect of this was to bring preacher and people together, and dissipate the idea of the sacerdotal character of the clergy. Another effect was to teach men to govern themselves, and thus to start a movement for the overthrow of all tyrannies—a movement which has not yet spent itself. The influence of Calvin on the political history of many nations is recognized by the leading historians of our day. This influence was due not alone

to the system of doctrine which he taught, but also, and perhaps we might say chiefly, to the republican form of government which he provided for the Church. "He vindicated," says Fisher, "the right of the Church to perform its own functions without the interference of the state. The Church thus became the nursery of liberty. Wherever Calvinism spread—in England, Scotland, Holland, or France—men learned to defend their rights against civil rulers." While it is not contended that Calvin was personally favorable to the largest popular liberty, yet it is noticeable that the freest nations to-day are those in which his teachings took deepest root and yielded the largest harvest.

CHAPTER II

SWITZERLAND

THIS land, not more famous for the picturesque grandeur of its mountains than for the lofty heroism of its freedom-loving people, was chosen of God to be the birthplace and the cradle of modern Presbyterianism. France furnished the man, but Switzerland furnished the home.

Geneva.—It was here in Geneva that the first church of modern times was organized under the Presbyterian form. The form was not, indeed, pure and ideal Presbyterianism, but it embodied most, if not all of the essential principles of this form of government.

William Farel, a Frenchman of robust and resolute character, was the first to preach the Reformed doctrines in Geneva. The Romish priests on learning of the presence of Farel, took immediate steps to rid the city of his pestiferous influence. Honoring him with the title of devil, they very soon had their emissaries handling him with violence and defiling him with spittle. The brave preacher escaped, to return again in two years, and defend the truth of God against all comers. He held his ground this time and was permitted to see the citizens, assembled in general council, in the Cathedral of St. Peter, lift up their hands and swear "that they wished to live in accordance with the holy scriptural law." This oath was taken on the 24th day of May, 1536, and marks the first decisive victory for the Reformed faith.

Calvin's Arrival.—Later on, in that same year of 1536, Calvin essayed to pass through Geneva. He was on his way to seek refuge for a second time in the city of Basel. He had planned a quiet life of literary labor, a life congenial to his taste, and suited to his reserved and shrinking disposition. Farel heard of his being in the city. He believed that Calvin was just the man to aid him in his arduous and perilous task of making the Reformation thorough and permanent in Geneva. He hastened to see him, and lay the matter before him. Calvin was not at all inclined to such a sphere of labor. Farel, growing more and more earnest, finally invoked a curse on him if he persisted in his refusal. Calvin's conscience was aroused and took sides with Farel, and then, as ever, he put inclination aside, and yielded to that stern monitor. From the first, he and Farel set before themselves, as the aim of their efforts, practical righteousness. They sought reformation of doctrine in order to reformation of life. Taking the people at their word, they began, not only to teach them that law of God, by which they had sworn to order their lives, but also to constrain them to keep their oath. Calvin prepared a Confession of Faith. The Civil Council demanded that all the citizens should swear allegiance to it. The magistrates were first required to take the oath. Those who refused were dismissed. Each magistrate was required to administer the oath to all the people in his district. Those who resisted were excommunicated and banished. The effort to carry this severe measure into effect was a practical failure. Opposition to the zealous reformers grew. The Civil Council changed sides, and favored those who advocated lax doctrine. It enjoined the preachers to administer the communion to all, irrespective of character. This the

preachers positively refused to do. The result was their banishment when they had labored together only two years.

Calvin's Return.—After a short while the people repented. They preferred Calvin and his rigid discipline to the wild disorder that sprang up and developed in his absence. Of the four magistrates who were at the head of affairs when the two reformers were banished, one was killed while attempting to escape arrest, one was beheaded, the other two fled and were sentenced to perpetual exile. The distracted city sent a deputation to invite Calvin to return. It required much solicitation to overcome his reluctance. At length he consented, but only on condition that the people should submit to the exercise of discipline. He entered the city again in September, 1541, amidst general rejoicing. At once he took steps in connection with the civil authorities for the revision of the ecclesiastical system. A number of ordinances were drawn up; and on the 20th of November, 1541, two thousand citizens assembled in general council and approved these ordinances by a majority vote. This marked another decisive victory for the Reformation, and that day has been called the birthday of modern Presbyterianism.

The Government of Geneva.—There was a blending of the civil and the ecclesiastical machinery in such a way as to make it a little difficult to discriminate between the two. The republic had a civil polity before Calvin came to the city. It consisted of a General Council, composed of all males over twenty-one years of age. This was the primary source of all authority in the state. It assembled in the Cathedral of St. Peter, at the tolling of the bell, while its meetings were announced by criers and

the blowing of trumpets at the street corners. This council elected four syndics, or magistrates, and these appointed a council of twenty-five, called the Lesser Council. There were two other councils, one consisting of two hundred members, and the other of sixty. The latter was designed to discharge ordinarily the functions of the General Council, and thus prevent the disorders which so often attended the assembling of this large and democratic body. The relation of these several councils to each other was not very clearly defined, but the measure of power exercised by each was in inverse ratio to its size. Nothing could be considered by the General Council which had not previously been considered by the council of two hundred; nor anything by this that had not been brought before the council of sixty; nor anything by this that had not been examined and approved by the Lesser Council. Hence the power of the whole state was largely concentrated in the smallest body, and the government was practically an oligarchy.

Formation of the Church.—Calvin had no thought of organizing a church entirely separate from the state. His views of the relation of church and state were largely colored by the teachings of the Old Testament, and his aim was the establishment of a theocracy. Church and state were to have their distinct spheres, but were to coöperate in the promotion of the same end, namely, the glory of God through the righteousness of the people. With such an aim, it was inevitable that he should concern himself with the civil as well as the ecclesiastical polity. As a matter of fact, he had much to do in revising, modifying and enlarging the body of civil laws. As the two powers were copartners, working together

for the same end, the machinery of each must be adapted to the other.

Ordinances Pertaining to the Church.—We cannot better set forth the character of these ordinances than by transcribing a few of the more important. The civil authorities prefaced the adoption of them with the following declaration: “In the name of the most mighty God, we syndics, with the Great and Small Councils of Geneva, with our people assembled by sound of the trumpet, and the great bell, following our ancient customs, having considered that it is a thing worthy of commendation above all other that the doctrine of the holy gospel of our Lord God be conserved well in purity, and the Christian Church maintained accordingly, also that youth in time to come be well and faithfully instructed, and the hospital be ordered in good state for the sustentation of the poor, the which cannot be except there be established a certain rule and manner to live, by the which every state may understand the duty of his office. For this cause it seemed good to us that the spiritual government, such as God hath showed unto us and instituted by his word, be brought into good form, to have place and to be observed by us, and we have ordained and established to follow and to keep in our own town and territory the ecclesiastical polity following, which is taken out of the gospel of Jesus Christ :

“Church Officers.—First of all, there are four orders of officers, which our Lord hath instituted for the government of his Church, that is to say, pastors, doctors, elders, otherwise named commissioners for the seniory, and fourthly deacons. If we will have a church well ordered and kept in the purity, we must observe this form of government :

“ 1. As concerning pastors, which the Scriptures name sometime watchmen, and sometime ministers, their offices are to declare the word of God, to teach, to admonish, to exhort, to reprove as well publicly as privately, to minister sacraments, and to do brotherly correction with the elders, or commissioners.

“ 2. The proper office of doctors is to teach the faithful with sound doctrine to the end that the purity of the gospel be not corrupted by ignorance, or wicked opinions; nevertheless according as things be disposed in these days, we do comprehend them under this title, to be aides and instruments to conserve the doctrine of God, so that the church be not desolate for fault of pastors and ministers, but to use a word more intelligible we shall call them the order of scholars.

“ 3. The office of the elders is to take heed and to watch of the demeanor and behavior of all and every of the people, to admonish lovingly those which they see fall, or lead a dissolute life, or if it be needful to make the report, or to do brotherly correction, and that shall be commonly done by the company that shall be thereto appointed.

“ 4. There hath been always two sundry kinds or sorts of officers in the ancient Church, the one were deputies to receive, to deliver and to conserve the goods of the poor, as well daily alms, as possessions, stipends and pensions; the other to feed and oversee the sick, and to minister the portion of the poor.”

Peculiarities of Organization.—Such were the officers chosen for the Church in Geneva. They were with slight exceptions the same in name and in function with the officers which at the present time are found in all Presbyterian churches. We find no room for the office of doctor, and think that the terms “pastors and teach-

ers," as used in the Scriptures, apply to incumbents of the same office. Probably this office was created in the Church of Geneva for the reason that it was proposed to found a school with special reference to raising up a ministry, and this school was to be under the strictest supervision of the Church. The teachers in this school were to be selected by the ministers, approved by the council, and subject to the ecclesiastical discipline. The deacons were divided into two classes, but this was merely for convenience, based on an arrangement already in existence for looking after a hospital, in which the sick, the aged, the poor and the orphans were cared for.

Election and Appointment of Officers.—A candidate for the ministry was examined by the company of pastors. If approved by them, he was presented to the council. If he passed a satisfactory examination before this body, he was given a testimonial and was required to preach a sermon before the people. If he was not acceptable to the people, they could veto his ordination as pastor, but were required to show good cause for their dissatisfaction. If approved by the people, he was inducted into office, and then made to take a very comprehensive oath of loyalty to the city and its institutions.

No one could be received into the office of doctor except by approval of the ministers. He must also be presented to the council with witnesses, and be examined before two of the seniors.

The elders were chosen, two from the small council, four from the council of sixty, and six from the council of two hundred. They all were nominated by the small council in conference with the ministers, and their nomination confirmed by the council of two hundred. An oath of fidelity to the duties of their office, and of loyalty

to the laws of Geneva was exacted of them. They were on probation for one year, and at the end of the year were presented to the seniory, and if no cause could be shown to the contrary they were continued in office.

The council was to choose the deacons in the same manner in which the elders were chosen, and in making choice they were to "follow the rule of St. Paul touching deacons in the First Epistle to Timothy, the third chapter; and the Epistle to Titus, the first chapter."

The Consistory.—There was only one ecclesiastical court in Geneva, and this was called the consistory. It was composed of the pastors of the city, six in number, and the twelve elders chosen by the council of two hundred. In selecting the elders, the council was to see to it that "there be of them in every part of the city, that their eyes may be over all that is ordained or done." An ordinance required the elders "to gather once a week with the ministers, which shall be on Thursday, to see if there be any disorder in the church, and to talk together for the remedy thereof, when and how as shall be most convenient." They had no authority to constrain any one to appear before them, but the council deputed one of their number to cite any one whom the consistory thought deserving of censure. If he refused to come, they could report him to the council, which would take order as it saw fit. There was an ordinance detailing very minutely the sins of which the consistory should take notice. If the offense were of such character as to merit nothing more than admonition, the consistory could dispose of it. But if the offense were of such gravity as to call for excommunication, the consistory could pronounce the sentence, but must report their action to the council.

Other Regulations.—A commission of four was appointed, two by the magistrates, and two by the ministers from the congregation, to visit every parish once in the year, to inquire into the faithfulness of the ministers. The commissioners were to investigate touching the soundness of the doctrines which they preached, the character of the lives which they led, and the diligence with which they discharged the duty of preaching and visiting the sick. If the commissioners found any serious blemish in any of the ministers, they were to make report of the same to the seniory, to the end that the seniory might “proceed according to reason.” Geneva had suffered enough from the despotism of an irresponsible priesthood, and they would take no risk of placing the same yoke on their necks again. It is not to be presumed, however, that this jealous watchfulness over the lives and conduct of the ministers was without the cordial assent of these. They organized a constant vigilance over each other’s ministry. “The Venerable Company,” as it was called, was a council of all the pastors of Geneva. It could not exercise any official authority, but it met monthly for the purpose of mutual admonition and help. It was also charged with the examination of those seeking admission to the ministry.

The Mother Church.—Such, in brief outline, was the Church of Geneva, organized under the guiding hand of the illustrious Calvin, but that hand was by no means free from the constraint of a jealous civil authority. It was not just what Calvin would have preferred, and had it been, it still would have been far from our ideal. We may note, however, four fundamental principles which it embodied: First. A church organization entirely distinct from, if not independent of, the state. Second. A

revival of the offices of ruling elder and deacon in their scriptural form. Third. Government in the hands of a court composed of teaching and ruling elders. Fourth. Unity of the Church recognized by placing several churches under the discipline of one court. These are the constituent elements of Presbyterianism; and rightly, therefore, do we name this the Mother Church of all modern Presbyterian churches.

Its Relation to the Civil Power.—It is a matter for regret, of course, that the fair form of our Mother Church should have been so marred by too close a relationship to the state. They two were joined in an unholy, and in an unhappy wedlock. The lordship belonged to the state, the Church being the weaker vessel. This was not so manifest during Calvin's lifetime, because of his overshadowing personality. He was a host in himself, and in every conflict between Church and state as to the bounds of their respective jurisdictions, his powerful influence was thrown on the side of the Church. He was, by an unwritten law, permanent president of the Venerable Company, and in any matter in dispute that touched his conscience, his indomitable will usually carried the day. But a brief analysis of some of the ordinances already quoted will make it plain that the Church was hampered at every turn by the civil power. The candidate for the ministry was presented to the Lesser Council, and it rested with the council to pronounce the final word as to his fitness for office, and to determine whether he should be permitted to try his gifts before the people. The elders and deacons were elected and appointed to office by the council of two hundred, and the people had not even the power of vetoing the appointment. While the consistory could exercise discipline over the members

of the church, and punish with spiritual censures, the Lesser Council had the right of review, and sometimes attempted to nullify the findings of the spiritual court. In cases of aggravated sin, or dangerous heresy, the civil power supplemented the censures of the consistory with bodily pains and penalties. Thus it happened in the case of Servetus, who not only denied the doctrine of the Trinity, but made himself very offensive by his coarse denunciation of the orthodox faith. As Calvin has been loaded with much odium because of his part in the destruction of Servetus, we may pause long enough to observe that he was to blame, along with the other leaders of the Reformation, for holding to an error common to the age. It had been the doctrine of the Romish Church for centuries that heresy was the greatest of all crimes, because it destroyed souls, and that the secular power should put the heretic out of the way. The reformers inherited this error, and very few of them escaped from it. The Romish Church had condemned Servetus to death, and if he had not made his escape, Calvin would never have had the opportunity to put this blot on his fame. He believed that Servetus deserved death, and volunteered to prosecute him before the civil tribunal. The case went against Servetus, and then Calvin tried to save him by persuading him to renounce his errors; failing in this he did what he could to have the form of the death sentence mitigated. But after all is said that can be said by way of palliation, it is still to be deplored that the noble Christian men of that day could not have seen with clearer vision the proper relation between the things which belong to Cæsar and those which belong to God.

Rights of Conscience.—Calvin and his coadjutors had slight respect for the rights of conscience. They left

nothing, in fact, to its decision, but tried by a rigid discipline, covering all departments of life, and entering into the most minute details of conduct, to constrain all to live by rules which they had prescribed. Proclamations, published by sound of trumpet, laid down injunctions and prohibitions of a most remarkable kind, and obedience was enforced by severe penalties. In one of these proclamations we read such specifications as the following : “ Item, that no manner of person, of what estate, quality, or condition soever they be, men, nor women, shall wear any chains of gold, or silver ; but those who have been accustomed to wear them, shall put them off, and wear them no more after this proclamation, upon pain of three-score shillings for every time. Item, that no woman shall wear above two rings upon their fingers, saving that upon the day of their marriage, they may wear more, and the day after likewise, upon pain for every time three-score shillings. Item, that no manner of person, whatsoever they be, making bride-ales, banquets, or feasts, shall have above three courses, or services to the said feasts, and to every course, or service, not above four dishes, and yet not excessive, upon pain of threescore shillings for every time, fruit excepted.” In a proclamation issued on the 28th of February, 1560, and published by sound of trumpet, it is enjoined that “ every person shall send their children to the catechism to be instructed and taught, upon pain of three shillings when they shall be found lacking. Item, that no manner of person be so hardy to swear by the name of God, under pain the first time to kiss the ground ; the second time, to kiss the ground and pay three shillings ; the third time, to pay forty shillings and three days in prison ; the fourth time, to be banished the town a year and a day.”

These proclamations were issued in the name of "our most redoubted senior syndics and council of Geneva." They were civil and not ecclesiastical enactments; and suggest to us that, while the Church was held in the close embrace of the state, the state itself was a unique body. It sought, as perhaps no other civil power ever sought, upright living as the ultimate aim of all its endeavors. It freely adopted the Reformed faith, and the citizens in their general council took an oath to live according to God's law. It is true that many were not in sympathy with this movement, and many who thought they could abide by it, found that their hearts were not equal to it. But the majority stood by Calvin, and used the machinery of the state, not merely to make men profess orthodoxy, but to make them live holily. The severity of discipline cannot be justified, but it can be said in behalf of it that it helped to transform Geneva from a city of deservedly bad repute into a city famed for purity of life. We say helped, for it must ever be borne in mind that Calvin and those who wrought with him laid the greatest possible stress upon the transforming power of preaching and other forms of religious instruction. An ordinance required that "upon the Sundays there shall be morning sermons at the churches of St. Peter and St. Gervais, also at the hour accustomed, sermons through all the parishes. At noon the catechism, that is to say, instructions for the small children, in three churches, and at three o'clock likewise sermons in all the churches. Upon the week days, over and besides a sermon in every parish, also there shall be sermons at the head churches, Monday, Wednesday and Friday at four of the clock in the morning."

Struggles and Triumph.—When Calvin returned to

Geneva, after having been banished, he began the warfare just where he had laid it down. As we have seen, he and Farel were contending for the right of the Church to bar the unworthy from the communion table. They suffered a defeat. Calvin never for one moment thought of yielding the point. The ordinance bearing on this point was ambiguous, and possibly it was so drawn intentionally. It empowered the consistory to excommunicate, but required that the action should be reported to the council. What was the meaning of this requirement? One object was that the council might follow up the spiritual censure with corporal punishment if it saw fit. Did it further mean that the council might modify, or reverse the sentence of the consistory? The council claimed this right, but Calvin would not concede it. Through fifteen years he contended for the Church's independence of the state in the exercise of disciplinary power. Much and bitter opposition was arrayed against him. More than once his life was in serious jeopardy. Finally, a crisis was precipitated. Calvin preached a farewell sermon, expecting banishment on the morrow. But the council yielded, and from that day till his death, in 1564, Calvin remained master of the situation.

The Academy of Geneva.—In 1558, this famous school was founded, and Theodore Beza was appointed its first rector. He stood second only to Calvin, distinguished as he was for high birth, courtly manners, elegant culture, deep piety and effective eloquence. The first year of the academy's existence, the students numbered eight hundred. They represented nearly all the nations of northern and western Europe. The influence of this school in disseminating the Reformed doctrines was incalculable. It is interesting to know that while changes

of all kinds have passed over the city, modifying and transforming its diversified life, this school has lived on to our day. Unfortunately, however, it no longer ministers to the spread of an orthodox faith, but rather to the spread of rationalism. The spring has become poisoned at the fountain, and the streams that flow out bear the germs of spiritual disease and death.

Later History.—When Calvin was removed by death, and the precedents established by his dominating power were no longer respected, the Church of Geneva became more and more helpless in the toils of the civil law. Zwingli's views grew in popularity until the Church lost even the shadow of autonomy and became merely a department of the state. The constitution adopted in Calvin's time remained with slight modifications until the middle of the nineteenth century. But all the while the administration of the laws, in respect to purity of faith and morals was becoming more lax, and whatever changes were made were unfavorable to the vigor and independence of the Church. Geneva soon ceased to be the pride of Reformed Christendom, and the center of its most powerful and most beneficent influences.

Recent Revival.—No land owed more to Geneva than Scotland. Through John Knox, and afterwards through Andrew Melville, Geneva furnished to that land the type of doctrine and form of church government that have contributed so much to the glory of its history. It was meet that in her hour of need, Geneva should receive a blessing in return. That blessing came in the visit of Robert Haldane in 1816. He spent two years there in close contact with the theological students of the university. They met him daily in his parlor, where he expounded to them the Epistle to the Romans, and by the

blessing of God infused a warm evangelical spirit into many lives that knew religion merely as a form. Among these were some men of brilliant gifts, César Malan, Merle d'Aubigné, François Gaussen. They soon found themselves out of sympathy with the established church. By and by, there was an open rupture. In 1830 the *Société Evangelique* was formed for the purpose of "spreading sound apostolic doctrine throughout Switzerland and France." It carries on an extensive missionary work, and is supported by voluntary contributions from Christians in various parts of the world, who are interested in its noble aims. This society founded a new theological school in direct rivalry with the old academy that owed its origin to Calvin.

Present Condition.—Changes in the laws have brought the Church more completely under the power of the state. The Venerable Company, which, along with the consistory, had been intrusted with the general direction of affairs, was in 1834 deprived of its authority over the academy; in 1847, it was deprived of the privilege of sitting in judgment on the qualification of candidates for the ministry. In the same year the Confession of Faith was abolished. So that now the features of Calvin's Church are so marred that he would hardly recognize it. A minister of the Church of Scotland recently made a visit there and spent the Sabbath. "I had the privilege," he writes, "of witnessing an ordination in the church of St. Peter. Under her democratic régime, Geneva has departed so widely from Calvin's idea of the ministry that a young man who has passed his college examinations, and those of the consistory does not require to be ordained by a classis to be eligible for a pastoral charge. The Church being treated as but a department of the

public administration, the state takes no cognizance of the candidate's personal beliefs, competency for the work of the ministry being presumably guaranteed by his testimonials. The ministerial office is thus looked at not in reference to its spiritual character or objects, but rather as to its social and moral functions; and as connected with certain semisecular duties which the minister is expected to discharge." This state of affairs led to the formation, in 1849, of the Free Evangelical Church of Geneva. As yet it is but a handful of corn on the top of the mountain, but it may in time to come wave like Lebanon. In 1896 it had only four parishes with six hundred and eighty-seven members.

The Church of Neuchâtel.—It was under the leadership of the bold and impetuous Farel that the Reformation was established in Neuchâtel. He preached a sermon on the 23d of October, 1530, in the cathedral church which swept the hearts of the people like a breath from heaven. Under the prompting of a resistless enthusiasm they seized mattocks, hatchets and hammers, and proceeded to smash the images, statues, altars and paintings in the church. They threw the shattered fragments from the top of the rock on which the church was built. A few days after this a vote was taken to decide whether Neuchâtel should remain under the power of the Pope, or shaking off his yoke declare itself free to serve Christ according to the teachings of the New Testament. Great excitement prevailed while the vote was taken in silence. The parties were so evenly balanced that it was not till the vote was counted that one could conjecture with any approach to certainty on which side the victory would lie. The count of the vote revealed a majority of eighteen for the Reformation.

This sealed the fate of the papal party, and placed Neuchâtel permanently in the ranks of reform.

Hostility of Church and State.—One thing distinguished the Reformation in Neuchâtel from that in all the other cantons of Switzerland. In the others the heads of civil government sympathized with the movement, and Church and state ultimately became identified, with all power in the hands of the magistrates. In this canton, while the majority carried the day for reform, the civil power remained in the hands of the Catholics. Thus the churches acted independently of the state. Farel and the other pastors met regularly in the city of Neuchâtel, and being organized under the name of the "Company of Pastors," governed the Church. This system continued down to 1848, when a synod, composed of pastors and laymen took the place of the Company of Pastors. Some twenty years later the civil government enacted laws destructive of the Church's autonomy, declaring every citizen of the state a member of the Church and entitled to vote, and further declaring every minister eligible to office in the Church, no matter what his belief. This led in 1873 to a secession, and the formation of the Evangelical Church of Neuchâtel. It now numbers twenty-eight congregations, and ten thousand, five hundred and seventy-one communicants.

The Canton of Vaud.—Only three of the thirteen cantons of Switzerland adopted clearly-defined Presbyterian forms of government, on becoming reformed. These were French speaking, and the Reformed doctrines were brought to them from France. While the others were Calvinistic in doctrine, and had much in common with the three distinctively Presbyterian cantons, they accepted the Reformation under the dominating influence

of Zwingli, and, in the relation which they established between Church and state, gave expression to his views.

Lausanne.—The Church in this capital city of the Pays de Vaud was founded by Pierre Viret. He was intimately associated with both Calvin and Farel. These three constituted a noble triumvirate, to whom the Presbyterian churches of all lands are deeply indebted. They somewhat supplemented each other, and together exhibited an aggregate of gifts and graces that is rarely witnessed. Calvin was the profound scholar and acute logician, Farel the impassioned and indomitable preacher, and Viret the amiable and captivating counselor.

Relation to Bern.—Shortly after the establishment of the Church in Lausanne, the Vaudois passed under the control of the Bernese. For more than two centuries their ecclesiastical affairs were governed after the fashion of the government of Bern. In 1798 the Vaudois were liberated and formed the canton of Vaud, and entered the Helvetic Confederacy. The canton established a national Protestant Church, based on a profession of faith in the Old and New Testaments, interpreted according to the principles of the Reformed evangelical communion.

Rupture.—By changes in the government the civil power more and more encroached on the prerogatives of the Church. In 1845, those who held evangelical views and labored for the spiritual welfare of the Church, decided to submit no longer. They separated from the national Church, and organized the Free Church of the canton of Vaud. It now numbers forty-three congregations, one hundred and fifty-seven ministers and four thousand, eight hundred and ninety-four members. It has a flourishing school at Lausanne, in which the able

and devout scholar, Alexander Vinet, shone for a time with brilliant luster:

Present Condition and Future Prospects.—Our review of the history of the Presbyterian churches of Switzerland indicates that instead of healthful development, there has been sad degeneracy. The noble labors of Calvin, Beza, Farel and Viret failed to achieve permanent results worthy of their illustrious names. At the end of three and a half centuries the cause for which they wrought is represented by the three independent churches of Geneva, Neuchâtel and Vaud. The established churches, which are the legal successors of their organizations, no longer represent the evangelical principles which were the inspiration of their lives.

The outlook for the future of the independent churches is not very hopeful. Feeble in numbers, and limited in resources, they have to struggle against the strong currents of opposition which result from the secularized Christianity of the state establishments. But God can take the weak things to confound the mighty, and there is always ground to hope for the success of those who are striving to uphold his honor and promote his truth. It is gratifying to note that the three churches have recently formed a federation to look after their common interests.

CHAPTER III

FRANCE

MUCH in the history of France furnished hope that the Reformed doctrines would find ready acceptance and rapid development in that land.

Independent Spirit of the Gallican Church.—The Church in France had ever been impatient of the tyrannical exercise of power by the papacy. From time to time, it put forth effective protest in the name of the Gallican liberties. Phillip, the Fair, had been the first of European monarchs to humble the haughty pretensions of the Pope, and to give an effectual check to his temporal power. He had been nobly sustained in his bold attitude of resistance by all classes of his subjects, including the clergy.

The Revolting Sects.—In southern France, numerous sectaries had achieved minor reforms, long before the great Reformation of the sixteenth century. The Albigenses attracted attention as early as the beginning of the twelfth century. Though accused, and, perhaps justly, of holding some views that exhibited their kinship with the gnostics of an earlier day, yet they both taught and practiced a purity of life in beautiful contrast with the corrupt lives of Romish priests and monks.

A little later in the same century, Peter Waldo led a movement which resulted in giving birth to a numerous sect, named from him, Waldenses. They were free from the errors of the Albigenses, and rivaled them in the

preaching of the primitive faith and in the exhibition of a pure and lovely morality. They put the authority of the Scriptures in place of that of the Pope, or the Church, and did what they could to give the word of God free course. Both these sects were made to feel the heavy hand of Rome, more heavy at that time against the true disciples of Christ and his apostles than it had been even when the worst of the pagan emperors sat on the throne. The Albigenses were apparently exterminated, but it is not to be doubted that their lessons and lives continued to exert an influence after they had passed from the scene. The Waldenses were crushed and mangled, tortured and tormented, but they lived on, and continue to live.

The Reforming Councils.—During the fifteenth century several councils met for the avowed purpose of reforming the Church. France furnished to these councils some distinguished leaders, who, with sublime courage, and great force of intellect, dealt powerful blows at the gross abuses of the papacy. They failed to reform, but they did much to break the spell of superstitious reverence that made the people prefer to be slaves rather than risk perdition by incurring papal anathemas.

Jacques Lefèvre.—Eight years before Luther made such a noise with his hammer on the door of the Wittenberg Church, Jacques Lefèvre published in France the evangelical doctrines that afterwards became the watchword of all reformers. He also exalted the Bible to its proper place of supreme authority in matters of faith and practice. Many hearts gave heed to his teaching, and a group of earnest souls began to speak often one to another about the urgent need of purer doctrines and purer lives.

These historical phenomena gave promise of a glad welcome, and a speedy harvest for the Reformed faith. The promise was in a measure fulfilled.

Early Attitude of the King.—In 1515, Francis I. came to the throne. He was young, handsome and high-spirited. He displayed a warm interest in the classical culture which, emanating from Italy, was spreading throughout Europe. By a generous patronage, he drew men of learning and genius to his court, and gave them cordial welcome notwithstanding many of them had outgrown the absurd dogmas of the Romish Church. He looked with suspicion, however, upon any change in Church polity that threatened revolution in the state. Believing that unity in faith was essential to the unity of the realm, he would countenance no such radical measures of reform as might involve the total overthrow of the papal system. At the same time he had no sympathy with the Sorbonne, the Parliament, and the monks in their narrow spirit of intolerance. He protected Berquin, a distinguished courtier, whom the dignitaries of the Church sought to destroy; he honored Erasmus; and even went so far as to invite Gérard Roussel to preach the Reformed doctrines in Paris. His sister Margaret was still more kindly disposed toward the reformers and their evangelical preaching. She embraced many of the new doctrines, and showed public favor to those who were outlawed by the Church, notably to the illustrious Calvin. But with all these things in favor of the spread of the Reformed faith, there were powerful opposing forces. The queen mother, Louise of Savoy, was intensely hostile, and with her was Duprat, the able prime minister of the king, who for his zeal in resisting and repressing heresy was rewarded with a cardinal's hat.

Moreover the University of Paris, the Parliament, and almost the entire body of the clergy were ready to exert themselves to the utmost to maintain the old order.

Change in Attitude of the King.—Every influence possible was brought to bear on the king to determine him to the policy of intolerance. Arguments were used to excite his fears as to the stability of his throne in case any favor were shown to the religious innovators. Whether or not moral suasion alone could have won him to the side of bigotry, cannot be known. It was not left to moral suasion alone, but the indiscretion, and rash zeal of certain reformers brought to bear a more powerful influence. The zealots posted on the walls along the streets and even on the door of the royal bedchamber placards denouncing in no measured terms the sacrifice of the mass. This was a crime above all crimes, the very extreme of sacrilege in the eyes of all devout papists. The king was outraged along with the rest, not alone at the blasphemy of the placards, but also at the audacity that could invade the privacy of his sleeping apartments. Eighteen heretics were burned at the stake by way of avenging the outrage, and the king showed his devotion to the Catholic faith by gracing the occasion with his presence. For political reasons he still courted the Lutherans of Germany. He wished to use them to weaken the power of his great adversary, Charles V, with whom he was involved in almost constant wars. He offered to the Lutherans as an apology for his violence toward the reformers of his own kingdom the slanderous statement that they were of a different spirit from the Protestants of Germany, being in fact disorderly and fanatical anabaptists. It was partly for the purpose of refuting this slander that Calvin published in 1536 the

first edition of his *Institutes*. In the dedication of this book, which is addressed to "His Most Christian Majesty, Francis, King of France," he put forth one of the most eloquent defenses of his suffering fellow Christians that the genius of man could frame. In concluding it he expressed the hope that the king might be won to look with favor upon his poor afflicted subjects. "But," he adds, "if your ears are so preoccupied with the whispers of the malevolent, as to leave no opportunity for the accused to speak for themselves, and if those outrageous furies, with your connivance, continue to persecute with imprisonments, scourges, tortures, confiscations and flames, we shall indeed, like sheep destined to the slaughter, be reduced to the greatest extremities. Yet shall we in patience possess our souls, and wait for the mighty hand of the Lord, which undoubtedly will in time appear, and show itself armed for the deliverance of the poor from their affliction and for the punishment of their despisers, who now exult in such security." Calvin's noble words were wasted on deaf ears. Francis grew more intolerant, and put his royal power at the service of those who scrupled at no methods, and shuddered at no cruelty in their persistent purpose to crush out the new doctrines. He suffered the Pope to wage a crusade of merciless violence against his unoffending Waldensian subjects. "The result of his attitude in relation to the Reformation was that, a few years after his death, his country was plunged into civil wars, during which it became, not the arbiter but the prey of Europe, and its soil the frightful theater of the battle of sects and nations. From such wars it had no respite until his dynasty perished in blood and mire."

Growth of Reform.—Notwithstanding the strenuous

efforts at suppression, revolt against the Church continued to gain strength, and the numbers of those who embraced evangelical doctrines rapidly increased. The movement was greatly aided from Geneva, where Calvin had taken refuge in 1536. From the printing presses of the Swiss city, Bibles and other books were sent into France. Calvin gave the reformers the constant benefit of his counsels and encouragement. Preachers trained by him were sent into all parts of the kingdom. The records show that at least one hundred and twenty-one ministers were sent from the Church in Geneva into France in the eleven years between 1555-66. Many of high social standing and of great consideration embraced the Reformed faith.

Henry II and Catharine de' Medici.—Francis died in 1547, and was succeeded by his son Henry II. A few years before, Henry had married Catharine de' Medici. She was the niece of Pope Clement VII, and through his diplomacy the marriage was contracted. Guizot says that Catharine was Clement's "fatal gift to France." Had Henry needed any prompting to pursue with vigor the policy adopted by his father toward the Reformation, this wily, and wicked Italian woman would have furnished it. King and queen were of one mind in their hostility to the rising spirit of revolt against the papacy, but their efforts at repression were unavailing.

Beginning of Protestant Organization.—The fruits of the Reformed teaching were slow in crystallizing into organic form. But in 1555, just eight years after Henry II came to the throne, the first Reformed church was organized in Paris. The circumstances were interesting. According to a custom, now of long standing, those who had given up Rome, met in private for worship. La

Ferrière, at whose house they met, had an infant which he wished to consecrate to God in the ordinance of baptism. He was totally averse to soiling its fair young brow with the mixture of spittle and salt used by the papists in this ordinance. He wished the baptism to be administered in the pure and simple apostolic form. How to obtain this was the question. The little band of secret worshipers solved the difficulty by organizing themselves into a church and electing one of their own number to the office of pastor. Fortunately for them, they had a young man in their midst well fitted for this office, La Rivière, who had been trained in the doctrines of the Reformed faith by Calvin in Geneva. Not only a pastor, but elders and deacons were elected, and thus a fully-equipped Presbyterian Church was launched. In four years from the organization of this first church, two thousand churches of like character were organized in different parts of the kingdom. This shows how extensive the sowing had been, and how well prepared the soil to yield a quick and bountiful harvest.

Another Succession in the Throne.—The year 1559 was an eventful year both in the political history of France and in the history of the Reformed Church. In this year Henry II. was accidentally killed in a tournament while celebrating the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with Philip II. of Spain. His eldest son came to the throne as Francis II. Just one year before, he had married the beautiful and brilliant heiress to the throne of Scotland, known in history as Mary Queen of Scots. Francis, Duke of Guise, was her uncle. Apart from this, he was the most powerful noble in the kingdom. Not only was he a man of exalted rank,—he was a man also of vigorous intellect, strong will, intense passions, eager

ambitions, and of great military reputation. His brother Charles was Cardinal de Lorraine, a man of kindred spirit and of like great gifts. They were the leaders of the Catholics and their partisan zeal was ardent and unremitting. With their niece as queen they were in a position to exert an almost unlimited influence over the destinies of the kingdom. To make their position more commanding, Francis II. was only sixteen years old when he came to the throne, and was neither strong in body nor in mind. It was not without reason, therefore, that apprehension of the gravest character was entertained as to the fate of those whose religious views were offensive to the Guises.

An Opposition Party.—This apprehension drew together the leaders of the house of Bourbon, Antoine of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé, and the head of the house of Chatillon-sur-Loing, Admiral Coligny. These openly espoused the cause of the Protestants, partly from religious convictions and partly from political reasons. The Bourbons were a branch of the royal family, and no doubt jealousy of the influence of the Guises had much to do with determining their course. Very naturally the Protestants, who had before them the prospect of continued and increased persecutions, welcomed the accession to their party of these distinguished and powerful allies. By this alliance, however, the Protestants became identified with a political party, and the house of Bourbon with a religious party. Henceforth France was a kingdom divided against itself politically and religiously.

One Other Party.—This was made up exclusively of the queen mother, Catharine de' Medici. She was a Catholic, but she was not going to suffer her religion to stand in the way of her political interests. It did not

promise well for her ambitions for the Guises to gather all the reins of power into their hands. Hence she did not permit her position as queen mother to be overshadowed by them. This was fortunate for the Protestants. Had she united her influence to that of the Guises and the court, in the impending conflict between the two religions, the Reformed faith would have been blotted out. Catharine was first of all for herself, and her policy was to prevent either party from gaining a complete victory over the other.

Organization of the Reformed Synod.—Such was the state of affairs in the year 1559—a weak young king on the throne, a powerful kinsman of his wife at his elbow, an artful and selfish mother behind his chair. Opposed to them was the house of Bourbon, the avowed head of the Protestant interests. In this same year, the two thousand Reformed congregations scattered throughout France, sent their delegates to Paris, to the number of one hundred and fifty, and organized the first synod of the Reformed Church. They conducted their business in secret, and laid the foundation of their Church at the peril of their lives.

Work of This Synod.—The chief business of this first synod was to frame and adopt a Confession of Faith, and a Book of Discipline. They had the help of Calvin. He had already demonstrated in Geneva that the scheme of government which he had outlined in the Institutes was a workable scheme. He had put it into practical operation, and the results were highly gratifying. The French Church did not have to adopt an untried experiment. The Confession of Faith which the newly-organized Church adopted was drafted by Calvin's hand. It embraced forty articles, covering the whole ground of

polemic theology. The infant Church, too feeble as yet to confront its powerful adversary in open battle, was nevertheless willing that the whole world should know exactly where it stood on all debatable questions. In our age and country we can hardly conceive what was implied in publishing a Protestant Confession of Faith in the sixteenth century in France. Nearly every article in this Confession was an anathematized heresy, the holding of which made one liable to death by burning. Men did close thinking, and lingered long and prayerfully over the living oracles, before giving to the public a statement of doctrine for which they might have to die.

The Form of Government adopted by the synod was distinctly Presbyterian, though differing somewhat from the type common in our day. It gave the deacons a seat with the pastor and elders in the church courts. It allowed the congregations to choose their officers in the first instance, but it empowered the officers to fill vacancies afterwards occurring in their own ranks.

Growth of the Church.—During the twelve years following the organization of the first synod the growth of the Church was marvelous. In 1571, the synod met in Rochelle. Theodore Beza, the distinguished colleague of Calvin, was present to moderate its sessions. The noble queen of Navarre, and her son, Henry, afterwards to wear the crown of France, the Prince of Condé and Count de Coligny, Admiral of France, graced the occasion by their presence. Two thousand one hundred and fifty churches were represented by the synod. Many of these were phenomenally large, that of Orleans numbering seven thousand communicants, served by five pastors. In some of these churches there were even ten thousand

communicants, and the number of their pastors was proportionately great.

This was the climax of the Church's growth and prosperity. It seems a little remarkable that a movement which even in its tender infancy was irrepressible should, after developing to such magnificent proportions, have received a sudden and permanent check. But so it was. Perhaps in 1571, the Huguenots comprised one fourth of the total population of France. But the thick clouds were gathering, and soon such a storm burst upon this Church as can hardly be paralleled in history.

Growth in the Midst of Conflict.—Let it not be supposed that all the twelve years, during which the Church passed from infancy to the acme of its growth were years of peaceful progress. The remarkable thing is that this rapid growth took place in the midst of incessant conflict. It was the very year of the organization of the synod, that the nation divided into two parties and these aligned themselves, the one with Rome, the other with Calvin. It was the religious belief of each that the other was the advocate of fatal error, and that fatal error was something to be suppressed at all hazard. He who murdered the body was to be put out of the way for the safety of society. Much more was it necessary for the safety of society that the murderer of souls should be put out of the way. Hanging was too good for him. This was the estimate in which these two parties held each other. How inevitable that they should soon find occasion to begin the work of mutual extermination!

The Conspiracy of Amboise, 1560.—The Protestants were now called Huguenots, a name about which there is still much disputing. Probably it is from *Eid-genossen*, oath comrades. The first hostile movement after the

parties stood confronting each other was the conspiracy of Amboise. For this the Huguenots were held responsible, though it was strictly and exclusively political. The object was to get possession of the king, and remove him from the dominating influence of the Guises. The conspiracy was discovered and quite a number of persons were put to death for supposed complicity in it. The Prince of Condé was the only one of the great nobles implicated. He was arrested, sentenced to death and thrown into prison.

Another Change in the Throne.—It was most fortunate for Condé, and for the Protestant cause that just at this juncture, the sickly young king died. He was succeeded in the throne by his brother Charles IX, a boy ten years of age. The regency of the kingdom, during his minority, was committed jointly to Catharine de' Medici, and Antoine, king of Navarre. This change in affairs greatly relieved the situation of the Huguenots. Had Antoine been a man of courage and firmness, and withal a stalwart Christian character, he could have used his position to put his party on a secure footing. But he was weak and inconstant, and permitted the shrewd and enterprising Catharine to absorb all the power. But even this was for the time being a fortunate thing for the Huguenots. She was not willing to see the Guises make their victory in the matter of the conspiracy of Amboise too complete. She, therefore, released Condé from prison and granted toleration to the Protestants.

Another change in the composition of the court, caused by the death of Francis II, was favorable to the Reformers. In this same year, 1560, Mary of Guise, mother of Mary Queen of Scots, died, and the beautiful young widow of the deceased Francis went home to

Scotland. She took with her, of course, much of the influence which her uncles, the Duke of Guise and Cardinal de Lorraine, had exercised. They were still powerful, but their most efficient agent at court was henceforth wanting to them.

The Colloquy of Poissy.—Catharine not only showed consideration for the Huguenots by releasing Condé but she appointed immediately a colloquy, or conference to be held on the 9th of September, 1561. It was galling to the pride of the papists to be constrained to meet the Calvinists on a footing of equality; but Catharine had resolved that such a meeting should take place, and nothing could turn her from her purpose. Even in that age, so given to the spectacular, and bombastic, there were few more brilliant pageants than the gathering for this conference in the refectory of the nuns' convent at Poissy. It was resplendent with all the glittering paraphernalia incident to the presence of two royal courts, six cardinals and many high dignitaries in both Church and state.

Each side was permitted to select whom it would to represent its cause. The Protestants would have preferred Calvin, but were prevented from selecting him for prudential reasons. They wrote to him, saying: "We see no means of having you here without grave peril, in view of the rage which all the enemies of the gospel have conceived against you, and the disturbances which your name alone would excite in this country, were you known to be present. In fact, Admiral Coligny is by no means in favor of your undertaking the journey, and we have learned with certainty that the queen, Catharine de' Medici, would not relish seeing you. She says frankly that she would not pledge herself for your safety."

Would that Calvin might have confronted that Assembly, and looked with his deep-set, piercing eyes into the face of Cardinal Lorraine, the presiding officer, while he pointed out their errors, and "expounded to them the way of the Lord more accurately." But it might not be. His life was too precious for his devoted followers to see him take the risk. Fortunately there was one, versed in all Calvin's teaching, who was available, and who was in some respects better fitted to stand in that presence than Calvin himself. That one was Theodore Beza. Of noble birth and breeding, he had in early life moved amid the splendor and become familiar with the etiquette of courts. He was handsome, graceful, scholarly and eloquent. The hatred against him was not so bitter as against the stern, inflexible Calvin. It fell to his lot, therefore, to plead the cause of the Huguenots. Most nobly did he perform the duty. But the conference amounted to nothing more than a show of fine regalia, and a sound of fine words. Each party said its say, and then held on its predetermined course.

Edict of St. Germain.—On the 17th of January, 1562, a royal edict was issued, known as the Edict of St. Germain. This was a notable document for the reason that it granted the Protestants legal recognition. Viewed in the light of our day the concessions were meager enough, but in that harsh and intolerant age they were hailed with delight by those in whose behalf they were made. By the terms of this edict the Protestants were granted the privilege of meeting for worship anywhere outside of the walls of the cities. On the other hand they were required to surrender all the churches, of which they had taken possession, situated within the city walls. Of course, there were many Huguenots who were far from

thankful for such small favors, but Beza, representing a large gathering of ministers, wrote to all the congregations of the realm advising them to accept the terms and observe them in good faith. The noble Coligny was satisfied, and Calvin was content, saying, "If the liberty promised in the edict last, the papacy will fall to the ground of itself." All that he and the other men of faith wanted was merely the opportunity to proclaim the truth.

Massacre of Vassy.—The liberty guaranteed by the edict lasted just six weeks. On the 1st day of March, 1562, the Duke of Guise was passing through the small town of Vassy. A number of Huguenots had gathered in a rude barn for worship. Some of the duke's soldiers entered the building and interrupted the service. A conflict was precipitated, and the defenseless Huguenots were slaughtered like sheep, no respect being shown to age or sex. The Protestants made earnest complaint to the queen mother against this palpable breach of the Edict of St. Germain, but their complainings were in vain. No redress could be had. They accepted this as a token that the few rights granted them were not to be respected. Under their leaders, they prepared to vindicate those rights by force of arms. Thus began a series of cruel and desolating wars that lasted for thirty years.

Huguenot Reverses and the Treaty of St. Germain.—Without going into detail, it may be said as a general summing up of the tragic history that the Protestants were greatly outnumbered, and the battles usually went against them. But their unfailing courage and their pertinacity of purpose made it a costly thing for their enemies to subdue them. Hence frequent truces were granted, and favorable terms were conceded to them.

The most favorable of these were contained in the Treaty of St. Germain in 1569. The Protestants had suffered a most disastrous defeat, involving the loss of one of their gallant leaders, the Prince of Condé. Probably the desperate straits into which their cause was falling moved Catharine to favor a scheme for their relief. She was still playing the rôle of an opportunist, and she did not wish the victory of the Guises to yield larger results. By this treaty the Huguenots were granted liberty of worship in all towns except Paris, and as a guarantee of their rights they were put in possession of four fortified towns, La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité. This constituted an *imperium in imperio*. "A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand."

A Royal Marriage.—Steps were soon taken which gave greater promise of permanent tranquillity than the possession of any number of fortified towns. Catharine de' Medici had a daughter just nineteen years of age. Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre, now like Catharine, a widow, had a son, Prince Henry, just nineteen years of age. When these two were little children, it had occurred to older heads that their marriage would make good cement with which to unite Catholics and Protestants. The matter was discussed even before the death of Henry II. Now after years of desolating wars had brought the country into the sorest distress, the project was revived, and was entered into with the greatest interest. King Charles was mightily bent on it. Catharine seconded him heartily. Admiral Coligny, the head of the Protestant party, was delighted with it. Jeanne d'Albret, the mother of Henry, was not so eager. She was extremely anxious for peace, and in so far as this marriage gave promise of peace, she favored it. But with her, religion

was the great concern. She said she would consult her spiritual adviser, and as soon as her conscience was at rest, she would go any lengths to bring about cordial relations with the king and queen. "But," she added, "I would rather sink to the condition of the humblest *dameoiselle* in France than sacrifice to the aggrandizement of my family my own soul and my son's." Such was Jeanne d'Albret, the greatest woman of the age in which she lived. She went up to the court to see the royal family, and to talk the matter over. She liked the young girl, Margaret. In a letter to her son she describes her as "beautiful, and discreet and of good demeanor, but brought up in the most accursed and most corrupt society that ever was. I would not for anything in the world have you here to remain here. This is why I desire to get you married, and you and your wife withdrawn from this corruption; for though I believed it to be very great, I find it still more so." The young Duke of Guise seriously objected to the marriage, principally for the reason that he wanted Margaret for himself and had entertained hopes that he might get her. The Pope of Rome objected, for the reason that he did not wish to see Catholics and Huguenots brought together in permanent peace. He sent a cardinal to oppose the marriage, but King Charles was not to be turned aside. Just what his motive was we shall never know. The marriage was celebrated on August 18, 1572.

St. Bartholomew Massacre.—Many of the Huguenot leaders came up to Paris to attend the wedding. Some days were spent in social festivities. The Guises left the court, to avoid witnessing the nuptials. They very soon returned, and a close intimacy developed between them and Catharine. It is supposed that Catharine had grown

jealous of Coligny's influence over Charles. The young king was in constant intercourse with the great admiral, and seemed disposed to give him first place in his counsels. It was time for Catharine to throw her influence on the other side. She and the Guises began to plot. An effort was made to assassinate Coligny. A badly-aimed shot from an upper window shattered his hand and lodged a ball in his left arm. This alarmed the Huguenots. Catharine and the Duke of Guise took the king into their confidence. They represented to Charles that the Huguenots were plotting to take his life. They either worried or frightened him into an acquiescence in their plans. In a fit of desperation he bade them to make a clean sweep, and leave no Huguenot to reproach him. Before daylight of August 24, 1572, the signal sounded, and the most notable, because the most atrocious, massacre known to history was begun. It spread from Paris to other cities, and lasted several days. The number of victims must ever remain a matter of conjecture. It is variously estimated from twenty thousand to one hundred thousand. It is called the Massacre of St. Bartholomew because in the calendar of the Romish Church the 24th of August is the feast of this saint.

Result Disappointing.—Wickedness overreached itself. A crime so great shocked all Europe, excepting only the Pope and Philip II of Spain. Gregory XIII, who was Pope at the time, ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung, and had a medal struck to commemorate the event. His apologists say that his rejoicing was not over the slaughter of the Huguenots, but over the deliverance of the king from their conspiracy. The medal tells its own tale—it pictures not deliverance but destruction.

Siege of Rochelle.—While the blow weakened the

Protestants numerically, it put fresh energy into those who remained, and brought to their side many moderate Catholics. In three months, civil war was again raging. It centered in an effort to capture Rochelle. From the 16th of February to the 13th of June, the city was besieged by an army of forty thousand men. It was defended by a garrison of only thirty-one hundred. Six assaults were made on it. But the efforts of besiegers were in vain. The war ended by granting the Huguenots the most advantageous terms they had yet enjoyed.

Change in the Throne.—In May, 1574, Charles IX died, leaving the Huguenots as far from extermination, and as formidable as they were before the perpetration of that crime that haunted him night and day and made his deathbed a scene of horror. He was succeeded by his brother Henry III. From this time until 1588 there were three parties in the kingdom. At the head of one was Henry, King of France; at the head of another was Henry, King of Navarre; and at the head of the third was Henry, Duke of Guise. Civil wars continued, part of the Catholics acting with the Huguenots. At times Henry III had more cause for apprehension from the ambition of the Guises than from the hostility of the Protestants. Especially was this the case after the death of his younger brother. It then became highly probable that Henry of Navarre would fall heir to the crown of France. Henry III had no children, and should he die, the king of Navarre would have the right of succession. The intense Catholics formed a league under the leadership of Guise, in which they were joined by Spain. The object was to prevent by force of arms the accession of a Huguenot to the throne of France. Henry III by a vacillating policy had rendered himself very unpopular,

and the Duke of Guise could not refrain from making it manifest that he was more powerful than the king. By a display of military force he constrained the king to flee from his own capital. No king can be content to occupy a position subordinate to one of his nobles. Henry III knew no other way of regaining the ascendancy, and so he procured the assassination of the duke. This sealed his own fate. In a short while a fanatical monk, gaining access to him by treachery, dealt him a fatal blow.

Accession of Henry IV.—After the death of Henry III nothing stood between the king of Navarre, the leader of the Huguenots, and the throne of France except the opposition of the Catholic League. This opposition, however, was very formidable. It was backed by Philip II of Spain, who was all too willing to take a hand in the work of suppressing the Protestants. The moderate Catholics who had for some while sided with the Huguenots, were not willing to see a Protestant on the throne. Their withdrawal would greatly weaken the hands of Henry. The Pope used the spiritual powers with which he was clothed to blight Henry's prospects. Henry's position was a trying one. While at the head of the Protestants, he was in opposition to the vast majority of his fellow-countrymen. His title to the crown was clear, but he could only wear it, if at all, after years more of desolating wars. He did not wish to reign over the dead, and yet if he must conquer his way to the crown, France would be one vast burial ground. Another difficulty grew out of the intense bigotry of some of the Huguenots. They could not bear the thought of Henry's granting equal rights to Catholics with themselves. No sooner had Henry intimated that it would be

his policy to grant full liberty to both religions, than many Protestants drew away from his standard. It was said by some cotemporaries that he was deserted by as many Huguenots as Catholics. Surely this was an unhappy position. For a time Henry stood true to the religion in which he had been trained from childhood. When he heard that some in the army felt scruples about remaining in his service unless he would embrace the Catholic faith, he said: "I am very glad to inform them here, in the presence of you all, that I would rather this were the last day of my life than take any step which might cause me to be suspected of having dreamt of renouncing the religion that I sucked in with my mother's milk, before I have been better instructed by a lawful council to whose authority I bow in advance." Even here, however, while claiming loyalty to his convictions, he throws out a hint that these convictions were not so settled as that they might not be changed.

The passionate zeal of the leaders of the League left him no option but to maintain his rights by force of arms. They were not willing that he should be permitted to ascend the throne even on condition that he should change his religion. In their eyes he had already sinned beyond forgiveness. In the war that followed, Henry added greatly to his military renown, especially at the battle of Ivry. His words to his soldiers just before the action began will never cease to thrill: "Comrades, if you lose your standard, do not lose sight of my white plume; you will always find it in the path of honor, and, I hope, of victory, too." He not only gained victories over his enemies in the field, but by his gracious and generous bearing toward captured towns and provinces, he won the hearts of his countrymen. Still he was con-

vinced that the majority would never willingly see him king while continuing a Protestant. He determined, therefore, to submit himself to the Pope, and thus pave the way to the peaceable possession of the throne. On the 15th of July, 1593, he entered the Church of Notre Dame, made his recantation, knelt and received papal absolution.

Fortunes of the Church.—Of course the fate of the Reformed Church was bound up in the political fortunes of the Huguenot cause. Perhaps no Church has ever survived a more trying ordeal than that through which this Church passed during the thirty years beginning with the first civil war in 1562. It is hardly putting it too strongly to say that the whole soil of France was stained with the blood of her children. To the usual horrors of civil war were added the unspeakable horrors of frequent massacres, in which the sword devoured all ages and sexes. Poverty and general demoralization followed in the wake of war. The fields were desolate, the cities dismantled, the land dotted with ruins, agriculture and commerce interrupted and, to a large extent, destroyed. This distressing state of affairs, continuing so long, told powerfully against the Church. The 2,150 congregations represented in the Synod at Rochelle in 1571 were reduced to 760 by the year 1598. The schools, which the Church had founded at the cost of so much self-denial and which were her pride and glory were broken up; her ministers were poorly paid, and the tone of piety was seriously lowered.

Result of the King's Policy.—Henry IV was richly gifted in intellect and heart. He was every inch a Frenchman, brilliant, versatile, brave and generous. He knew the French people, and acquired an ascendancy

over them such as no other king, perhaps, has ever had. He has never ceased to be regarded as their ideal king. His qualities were of a kind to attract the admiration of those who could not approve his course in the matter of religion. Evidently he was not a deeply-religious man. Vastly different was his spirit from that of his mother, the ever to be venerated, Jeanne d'Albret. A saying of hers has survived to the effect that if she held her kingdom in one hand and her son in the other she would sink them both in the sea before she would go to mass. In contrast with this, Henry said a kingdom was worth a mass, and so he paid the price and took it.

Happy Consequences of Henry's Policy.—He rightly judged that his change of religion would bring peace to his distracted country. Sorely it needed peace, and when this came prosperity came in its train. Soon the desert began to blossom as the rose. Agriculture, commerce, and the arts of industry revived, and to the disasters of war there succeeded a rich abundance as the reward of intelligent thrift. In 1598, the Edict of Nantes was issued, granting full religious liberty to the Huguenots in all parts of France, except Paris. At the same time, it guaranteed to them their civil rights, and confirmed them in the possession of the strongly-fortified towns which had been ceded to them in the Treaty of St. Germain.

The king in changing his religion did not change his sentiments toward his former associates. He continued to love the Huguenots, and he used his exalted position to throw over them a shield of protection, and to give them the rights of citizenship.

Later Consequences.—Consequences do not all ripen at once. Could Henry IV have lived forever, or could he have transmitted his power and policy to a like-

minded successor, France might have continued to reap a harvest of blessing. But neither of these could be. In 1610, the knife of an assassin laid the king low. Then the power which he had wielded for the good of all his subjects passed to those who had no love for the Huguenots, and who had never reckoned them as entitled to any rights. A few years before his death, Henry had married a second time, and had again chosen a wife with the blood of the Medici flowing through her veins. This blood was all poisoned with hatred toward the Protestants. By this marriage Henry left an heir to the throne in the person of Louis XIII. He inherited no trace of Henry's broad and generous views, much less any trace of his paternal grandmother's intelligent and fervent piety. While he was yet under age, his mother chose Richelieu as prime minister. The controlling idea of his administration was the doctrine of royal absolutism. He set himself with deliberate purpose to make the king supreme in every department of government, and pursued this purpose relentlessly and with consummate success. In a few years he found a pretext for suppressing the synods of the Church. He sent troops into the province of Béarn, the stronghold of the Huguenots, and after much bloodshed, reëstablished the papacy. He besieged the city of Rochelle; and when the city had been reduced by starvation from 20,000 to 4,000 inhabitants, it was compelled to surrender. In the fall of Rochelle the last bulwark of religious liberty was swept away. The political power of the Huguenots having been destroyed there was domestic peace for the remainder of the reign of Louis XIII.

Accession of a New King.—In 1643, Louis XIV came to the throne and began the longest, and in the

mere matter of pomp and circumstance of royalty, perhaps the most brilliant reign in the whole history of the French nation. Like his father, he had a cardinal for his prime minister. Mazarin was of a different spirit, however, from Richelieu in his attitude toward the Protestants. These had won a right to kindly consideration. During the wars of the Fronde—wars waged by the great nobles against the king and his court, the Huguenots were faithful to the king, and their fidelity counted for much in securing the stability of the throne. The attitude of the Protestants deterred Cromwell from sending aid to the rebellious princes. It may well be questioned, therefore, whether Louis XIV did not owe to the good will of the Huguenots in the beginning of his reign that position of advantage which made possible the splendor of his marvelous career. Cardinal Mazarin certainly recognized that the court owed them a debt of gratitude, and a royal edict was issued in 1652 confirming and ratifying the Edict of Nantes.

The King's Way of Showing Kindness to the Huguenots.—Mazarin died in the spring of 1661. But even before his death the king's policy had undergone a change. To the synod which met at Loudun in 1660, the king sent a messenger to announce that "His Majesty has resolved that there shall be no more such assemblies until he deems it expedient." He never deemed it expedient, and that was the last national synod that met until 1872. In 1661, Louis wrote that "those who employed violent remedies against the religion styled Reformed did not understand the nature of this malady, caused partly by heated feelings which should be passed over unnoticed and allowed to die out insensibly instead of being inflamed afresh by equally strong contradiction,

which, moreover, is always useless when the taint is not confined to a certain known number but spread throughout the state. I thought, therefore, the best way of reducing the Huguenots of my kingdom little by little was in the first place, not to put any pressure on them by any fresh rigor against them, to see to the observance of all that they had obtained from my predecessors, but to grant them nothing further, and even to confine the performance thereof within the narrowest limits that justice and propriety would permit. But as to graces that depend on me alone, I have resolved, and I have pretty well kept my resolution ever since, not to do them any, and that from kindness, not from bitterness, in order to force them in that way to reflect from time to time of themselves and without violence whether it were for any good reason that they deprived themselves voluntarily of advantages which might be shared by them in common with all my other subjects."

His Kindness Not Appreciated.—It seems that thus early in his reign the Grand Monarch had become possessed with the notion that none of his subjects could live without his favor ; and that all that was necessary to break the spirit of the Huguenots was to shut them off from royal patronage. It did not require a great while to disclose to him that his kindness was misplaced. Notwithstanding he left them to meditate on the folly of their way, they were not by meditation converted from it. The king was shocked at their obstinacy. He could never understand why they should insist on trying to please God, by worshiping and serving him in a way that was not pleasing to the king. Finding that his policy, born of kindness not of bitterness, was a failure, he put it aside.

King Resorts to Bribery and Force.—He relied much on a system of purchasing conversions. He opened the way to promotion for Huguenots of noble birth. He rightly judged that those who had hitherto figured in affairs of state would find it hard to be relegated to obscurity, and to them he held out the tempting bait of official preferment. To those who would not renounce their faith all doors were closed. “They could no longer sit in the courts, or parliaments, or administer the finances, or become medical practitioners, barristers or notaries.” Many Huguenots of the higher ranks gave way. But the middle and lower classes were more loyal to their convictions and on them bribes had little effect. The king had nothing to offer, not even if he had offered all the wealth and honors of his realm, comparable to that which they were asked to resign. Hence he had to resort to directly repressive measures. Pastors were forbidden to visit their flocks except under severe restrictions. They were not to make any more converts to the Protestant faith, and “every chapel into which a new convert was admitted was to be pulled down, and the pastor was to be banished.”

The Dragonnades.—The king departed farther and farther from his first policy, as he came to know more and more of the Huguenot obstinacy. He hit upon one of the most cruel methods of persecution that was ever conceived, even by the “Most Christian” king of that age. He sent regiments of cavalry to the provinces in which the Huguenots were most numerous, and made these Protestants receive them into their homes and care for them. These unwelcome guests were encouraged to be as uncivil and brutal as they could find it in their hardened natures to be. “The dragoons took up their

quarters in peaceable families, ruining the more well to do, maltreating old men, women and children, striking them with their sticks or the flat of their swords, hauling off Protestants in the churches by the hair of their head, harnessing laborers to their own plows and goading them like oxen." Finding this method of conversion fairly effective they redoubled their efforts. Foucauld, who had charge of this missionary agency in the province of Béarn, where the taint of heresy was deepest and most nearly universal, distinguished himself. "He egged on the soldiers to torture the inhabitants of the houses they were quartered in, commanding them to keep awake all those who would not give in to other tortures. The dragoons relieved one another so as not to succumb themselves to the punishment they were making others undergo. Beating of drums, blasphemies, shouts, the crash of furniture which they hurled from side to side, commotion in which they kept these poor people in order to force them to be on their feet and hold their eyes open, were the means they employed to deprive them of rest. To pinch, prick, and haul them about, to lay them upon burning coals, and a hundred other cruelties were the sport of these butchers ; all they thought most about was how to find tortures which should be painful without being deadly, reducing their hosts thereby to such a state, that they knew not what they were doing, and promised anything that was wanted of them in order to escape from those barbarous hands."

Huguenots Leave France.—Powerless to resist, those of the Huguenots who could sought safety in flight. This method of freeing the country of heresy was not at all to the king's liking. He knew that he could ill afford to lose so large and so valuable a portion of the people.

What he wanted was to destroy heresy and keep the heretics. Hence stringent enactments were passed to prevent the Protestants from leaving the kingdom. If men were caught trying to escape they were condemned to the galleys, a kind of punishment corresponding to the chain gang of our day. The women were punished with confiscation of person and property. Many thousands preferring the galleys to apostasy took their chances, and made their escape. Other thousands, with no opportunity for flight, and unable to endure the diversified torments to which they were subjected professed conversion. At length the king assumed that the taint, as he called it, was pretty well eradicated, and that there was no further need of the Edict of Nantes. There were still spots of the disease, but a few more finishing touches would put an end to them.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.—The king called together his council, and after due deliberation a resolution was unanimously passed for the suppression of the Edict of Nantes. This was signed by the king on the 15th of October, 1685, with the explanation that “our pains have had the end we had proposed, seeing that the better and the greater part of our subjects of the religion styled Reformed have embraced the Catholic; the execution of the Edict of Nantes consequently remaining useless, we have considered that we could not do better, for the purpose of effacing entirely the memory of the evils which this false religion has caused in our kingdom, than revoke entirely the aforesaid Edict of Nantes and all that has been done in favor of the said religion.” The king was very considerate, desiring to destroy not only the evils, to which the Reformed faith had given birth, but even the memory of those evils. It is evident that his measure

was not a success, for it has affixed a stain upon his character that will remain while history continues to recount the glories of the "Grand Monarch."

The edict, revoking that of Nantes, ordered the demolition of all chapels, and forbade all assembling for worship; the schools were closed, all new-born babes were to be baptized by the Catholic priests, and the Protestant ministers were ordered to leave the kingdom in fifteen days.

Flight of the Huguenots.—All attempts to prevent the flight of the Huguenots were unavailing. They poured over the borders by the thousands, carrying with them riches in the way of sturdy character and intelligent energy that France could poorly afford to lose. They belonged for the most part to the thrifty middle class. Out of Tours went thirty thousand silk-weavers; out of Lyons nine thousand; other cities and other industries lost in like proportion. Louis XIV was knocking the props from under the throne, the truth of which came to light toward the end of the next century. All the surrounding nations, England, Germany, Switzerland and Holland were made richer by the suicidal policy of the proud monarch, whose will it was "that there be no more than one religion in this kingdom; it is for the glory of God and the well-being of the state."

An Outburst of Fanaticism.—It was soon evident that sparks enough had been left to kindle into quite a conflagration. The Cévennes Mountains furnished a convenient hiding place for those who could not escape to a greater distance. Persecution followed them thither. Many ministers who were risking life to instruct and comfort their poor bleeding and mangled flocks were taken and executed. Instead of awing into silence the

humble peasants of Languedoc to whom these pastors had ministered, these executions lifted their religious zeal to the loftiest enthusiasm; desperation took on the form of fanaticism; and gray beards and children began to play the rôle of prophets. The contagion of fanaticism spread, and meetings were held in defiance of danger and death to hear what the inspired children had to say. Efforts at repression began. One of the worst enemies of the Protestants was Abbé du Chayla who had undertaken a mission of suppression at the head of the Capuchins. When his house was crowded with condemned Protestants, the peasants, inflamed with prophetic hopes surrounded the house, and demanded the release of the prisoners. Their demand being refused, the doors were forced, the prisoners released, and the priests, including the Abbé du Chayla, who were in charge of them were put to death.

War with the Camisards.—This serious uprising occurred in a region that had been converted to Catholicism in a wholesale manner by the terrible dragonnades. The testimony of an able captain who was sent there to repress it, is to the effect that there were not in that whole district forty real converts. "I include in that number females as well as males, and the mothers and daughters would give the more striking proofs of their fury if they had the strength of the men. I will say but one word more, which is that the children who were in their cradles at the time of the general conversions, as well as those who were four or five years old, are now more Huguenot than their fathers. Nobody, however, has set eyes on any minister; how then comes it that they are so Huguenot? Because the fathers and mothers brought them up in those sentiments all the

time they were going to mass. You may rely upon it that this will continue for many generations." So it has and the end is not yet.

The revolt grew more and more serious until the Cévennes were proclaimed outlaws and the Pope decreed a crusade against them. Now the king began in earnest to attempt the suppression of the Camisards, as they were called, presumably from a white blouse which they wore. At the head of the Camisards appeared a remarkable youth of eighteen years of age. His name was John Cavalier and he caused it to be embalmed with honor in the pages of history. Against him and his untrained band of peasants were sent the veteran soldiers of the kingdom led by generals who had won glory on the battlefields of Europe. For three years he maintained the unequal conflict, displaying a remarkable genius for war, and a spirit that quelled before no difficulties or dangers. His career, however, was only made possible by the rare quality of the people whom he led. Marshal Villars who was intrusted with the military operations against them, wrote that they were stark mad on the subject of religion. "The first little boy, or little girl that falls a-trembling, and declares that the Holy Spirit is speaking to it, all the people believe it, and if God with all his angels were to come and speak to them they would not believe it more; people, moreover, on whom the penalty of death makes not the least impression; in battle they thank those who inflict it on them; they walk to execution singing the praises of God and exhorting those present insomuch that it has often been necessary to surround the criminals with drums to prevent the pernicious effect of their speeches." It was no slight undertaking to subdue such a people. But by and by their resources

were exhausted. Marshal Villars had chivalry enough in his bosom to admire the noble spirit of the young leader, and granted him favorable terms. A remnant refused to surrender, and for some years longer continued a kind of guerrilla warfare in parts of the Cévennes.

A New Leader and a Great Revival.—It looked for a time as if the king had at length accomplished the task of exterminating heresy, and only a few years after the close of the Camisard Wars, he issued a proclamation saying that his kingdom was free from Protestantism. This was in 1715, the last year of his reign; but instead of marking the end of Protestantism, it marked the beginning of its most remarkable revival. Louis XIV closed his eyes for the last time on all the scenes of his earthly glory on the 1st of September, 1715. Just ten days before that, August 21st, there met under the leadership of Antoine Court a few representatives, pastors and laymen, of the fragments of the Reformed Church that still survived in the Cévennes. They met at sunrise near Nîmes, and proceeded to organize "The Church of the Desert." They revived congregational organizations wherever a handful of faithful ones could be found. The few preachers divided up the territory, and visited, instructed and comforted the feeble and scattered flocks as best they could. In a few years, working quietly, persistently, and in the midst of constant perils, they demonstrated on a considerable scale the mistake of the Grand Monarch. So far was heresy from being exterminated that it could muster under cover of darkness assemblies numbering three thousand. In Languedoc there were one hundred and twenty parishes, and in this province and Dauphiné the evangelicals numbered about two hundred thousand. The policy of persecution was kept up by

the successors of Louis. Meetings of the Protestants were surprised, and the men were sent to the galleys, and the women to prison. Houses and villages were razed to the ground, and the pastors if apprehended were put to death. But the Church of the Desert continued to grow. Antoine Court, who ranks among the great heroes of Huguenot history was constrained to spend a good part of his life in exile. He founded a school at Lausanne in Switzerland, where he never ceased to labor for his beloved Church by training and sending to her a much-needed ministry. By the year 1763, the Church had sixty-two preachers and its growth had been such as to force on the rulers of France the conviction that perhaps after all the policy of persecution was a failure, and had therefore better be abandoned.

Toleration Granted.—Voltaire indirectly did the Protestants a great service. Jean Calas, a Protestant noble, had been prosecuted, tortured and finally executed on the preposterous charge of having strangled his eldest son. The only ground for the accusation was that this son wished to go over to the Catholic Church. Voltaire met the widow of Calas a few years afterwards, and becoming interested in her sorrow secured a revision of the trial. Fifty judges after careful investigation pronounced the father entirely innocent. Using this outrage on justice as a text Voltaire aroused a storm of indignation against the corrupt and persecuting clergy. It was a good text, and he made such effective use of it that the whole of France was soon informed of the iniquity. This was in the year 1762. It was twenty-five years later that Lafayette, who had become inspired with the spirit of liberty while helping the Americans to gain their independence, began to move for the legal recogni-

tion of the right of religious dissent and his efforts resulted in a formal edict of toleration. This point was reached however against the earnest protest of the Catholic clergy. In 1789, they presented a report in which they say, speaking of the Protestants, "This sect, which in the midst of its ruins preserves the spirit of audacity and independence which it has shown from the beginning, wishes to arrogate for falsehood the rights which belong only to truth. It presumes to demand a civil and religious existence; hence the necessity of vigorously resisting all its efforts." Truly it was a strange audacity on the part of the Protestants that they should demand the privilege of existence! Despite the exhortations of their enemies that this privilege should be denied them, they were permitted to live. This was about the extent of the state's concession, but this was immeasurably better than the dragonnades, the galleys and the fire.

The French Revolution.—The year 1789 is one never to be forgotten. The gorgeous extravagance of Louis XIV, the wasteful prodigality of his feeble successors, and the rapacity of a luxurious and profligate priesthood had brought the nation to the verge of ruin. The public coffers were empty, and the government was at the end of its resources. One third of the landed property was owned by the Church and this was largely exempt from taxation. The oppressed people had carried the double burden of state and Church until they could carry it no further. The thrift and energy of the Huguenots would have stood the nation in good stead at this critical time. Rather we may say this critical time would never have come had not this substantial element of the population been driven out. Their moral stamina

was needed even more than their financial help. Had the Reformed Church been permitted a normal development not only would she have furnished in her own membership a powerful conservative force to withstand the evil influences that brought such sorrow and disaster during the period of revolution, but her great rival, the Papal Church would have kept herself from such a career of shame.

Calling of the States-general.—In the nation's dire extremity, the king summoned the States-general, *i. e.*, an assembly composed of representatives of all the estates of the realm, the nobles, the clergy, and the common people. Such a thing had not been done for one hundred and seventy-five years. So long as king, and clergy and nobles could indulge themselves in the wildest excess of luxury, they did not concern themselves about the under crust. The delegates of the third estate, as the commons were called, outnumbered the representatives from both the other orders. To prevent their exercising an absolute authority, the nobles and clergy proposed that each estate should vote separately and that no measure should carry without receiving the votes of two estates. They hoped by combining to control the assembly. But the third estate demanded that the assembly should vote as individuals, and the majority carry the day. They succeeded after a protracted struggle in enforcing their demand. This put them in complete control. The third estate, which began by being nothing, ended by being everything. They had some able and fearless leaders. One of these, Talleyrand Périgord, came over to them from the ranks of the clergy. It was on his motion that the States-general, after discussing various methods for raising money, finally decided to

confiscate the property of the Church. By this act they put \$40,000,000 of annual income into the treasury of the state. The clergy opposed, as a matter of course, but their opposings availed naught. The assembly proceeded to divide the Church up into dioceses and parishes, decreed that the people had a right to call their own bishops and pastors, and set aside a modest salary for them out of the revenues of the confiscated property. The state had served the Church long enough ; now the Church must serve the state. The clergy were required to take an oath to the new constitution. The Pope forbade their doing this. Many refused and left the country.

The Reign of Terror.—The sentiments of justice and humanity which seem to have animated the States-general in the early part of its movements gave place, by and by, to impracticable theories of government. The people, so long oppressed and their rights utterly ignored, finding themselves complete masters were intoxicated with the idea of power. They apparently taxed their wits for new and novel ways to exercise it. In September, 1792, they declared France a Republic. In January of the next year they beheaded the king, and inaugurated the “Reign of Terror.” Christianity was abolished. The calendar was changed, and the birthday of the Republic, September 23d, 1792, selected to mark the beginning of a new era. The Sabbath was abrogated and for a week of seven days, they substituted a week of ten days. They parceled thirty days to the month, and the five supernumerary days were set apart as holidays. For eighteen months not a church in France opened its doors to worshipers. In Notre Dame, Paris, the Goddess of Reason was enthroned in the person of a profligate

woman, dressed in the classic costume of ancient Greece. France reveled in Atheism and blood, and gave the world proof that only a little while would be required for unrestrained wickedness to make a hell of earth. In 1795 the land began to awake from its horrible nightmare, and the churches were opened again. From this date the Huguenot Church, having survived two centuries of strenuous endeavor to exterminate it, has enjoyed freedom of worship.

Since the Revolution.—During the rule of Napoleon, the Reformed Church, like every other institution felt the weight of his iron hand. He tampered with its government, and shaped it to suit his peculiar notions. His special concern was to see that its national unity was completely broken up. It has had no unity since his day. In 1848, the scattered communities came together, and tried to find a common basis and a common bond. Divergent views had grown up, and the confession framed in 1559 would no longer serve to bind them together. Discussion led to alienation. A formal secession took place under the lead of Frederick Monod. Those who left the old Church formed themselves into an organization known as the Union of the Free Evangelical Churches of France. They inherit the pure evangelical faith of the fathers. At present they number only 3,665 communicants. The party that adhered to the historic polity represents the continuity of the Huguenot Church. There is reason to regret the laxity of doctrine that prevails among them, but He who was with them in the furnace, and brought them out despite its terrible heat, must have a grand mission for them. They number 800,000 adherents, a mighty host when it is considered of what temper they are.

CHAPTER IV

THE NETHERLANDS

THIS name designates a strip of flat land in the north-west of Europe. Centuries ago it was one vast quagmire where the Rhine and the Meuse had been emptying their slime for untold ages. Part of it was submerged by the ocean at high tide, and all of it was subject to the frequent overflow of these rivers. Here and there, however, were islands, slightly elevated above the yielding ooze, on which dwelt numerous tribes of hardy and savage people. When the light of Christian civilization penetrated their darkened minds, and they came to feel the need of a change in their mode of living, they began the arduous work of redeeming their land from marsh by an extensive system of drainage, and of protecting it from the overflow of the ocean by a bulwark of sand-banks. These latter are called dikes, and were first built at a cost of \$15,000,000, and are kept in repair at an annual outlay of \$2,000,000. The land thus reclaimed from rivers and ocean at such expense has proved, nevertheless, a good investment. At an early day its luxuriant meadows and ample harvests were capable of sustaining a numerous population, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century the Netherlanders were, perhaps, the most prosperous people of Europe. They had built up 350 flourishing cities, fed by their own agriculture, and fostered and enriched by a commerce extending to all parts of the world. Some of these cities were very large

for that age, Antwerp, with its 100,000 inhabitants, being no mean rival of London. The people were noted not alone for thrift and wealth, but also for their intelligence and their spirit of independence. They enjoyed an unusual measure of local self-government, their cities having secured charters which granted them the privilege of managing their own affairs in their own way. Learning was much more generally diffused than in most countries of Christendom. While the useful accomplishments of reading and writing were elsewhere confined, as a rule, to those of noble birth, and elegant leisure, they were here possessed by the artisan at his loom, the husbandman at his plow, and the fisherman in his boat. If "ignorance is the mother of devotion," it is only when devotion means blind submission to priestcraft, and bondage to absurd superstition. Intelligence is the best preparation for receiving the reasonable doctrines preached by Christ and his apostles. Hence the revolt in the Netherlands against Rome began early and rapidly developed into irresistible dimensions.

Union of Church and State.—In the Netherlands as elsewhere, religious and political questions were inextricably interwoven. For centuries Church and state, throughout all Christendom, had been bound together by innumerable legal bonds. It was supposed to be the supreme duty of the civil power to render effective the decrees of ecclesiastical courts, and especially to repress all revolt against ecclesiastical dogmas. It belonged to the Church to define orthodoxy, and to the state to defend it. To depart from the prescribed faith was to come into collision with both powers. Freedom from the papacy could be secured only by breaking every tie

of allegiance to the powers controlled by the Pope. For this reason the history of the Reformation in the Netherlands is the history of a struggle, not only against spiritual despotism, but also against political tyranny. Furthermore, it is the history of one of the most heroic struggles that has ever been waged by any people. The courage, the patient endurance, and the invincible persistence displayed by the Netherlanders, during a war that stretched its bloody horrors through forty long years can hardly be paralleled in all the annals of the past. The thrilling story, as told in Motley's graphic pages, stirs the blood to fever heat, and awakens a fervent gratitude toward that noble people who taught their own and after ages how to prize the inalienable rights of man. It looked at times as if they might be exterminated; it never looked at any time as if they might be subjugated. They knew how to suffer the worst that war could bring, how to meet death in any form, on the battlefield, at the stake, or by starvation in the straitness of the siege, but they did not know, and would not learn how to confess defeat. With meager resources in money and men, with little military discipline, and no experienced captains, save their one great leader, they baffled all the assaults of the greatest power among the nations, exhausted its expedients and finally won absolute independence.

Charles V.—The movement for reform began in the Netherlands at a time of all others the least auspicious. The country was held as a part of the hereditary possessions of Charles V. Since the days of Charlemagne, no monarch had ruled so vast an empire as that over which Charles held sway. By right of birth, he was King of Spain, Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem, Duke of Milan, and Count of the Netherlands; by right of election, Em-

peror of Germany and by the gift of the Pope to his grandfather, Dominator of the New World extending as far westward as men had yet dared to travel. He was fully imbued with the idea common to his age—that kings rule by divine right and that the only divine right belonging to subjects is the right of obedience. It was his prerogative to rule the souls as well as the bodies of men. Being himself an intense Roman Catholic, he reckoned that all his subjects were under obligation to be Catholics. If they would not voluntarily think as he thought on the subject of religion they must be made to think that way. His very earnest purpose was to have no freedom of religious thought in all his vast dominions. He deemed it a matter amply worth going to war about. Indeed he thought that there was no way in which the blood and treasure of his kingdom could be so well expended, even to the last drop and the last dollar, if need be, as in suppressing dissent from the Catholic faith. How unfortunate for the Netherlands, this little corner of his empire, that it should wish a somewhat larger latitude of belief just when the power, to which it owed allegiance, was in such strong hands.

Beginning of Hostility.—Charles had shown already by his efforts to crush the Reformation in Germany, what his attitude would be toward a similar movement in the Low Countries. He was less hindered here than in Germany where his sway was embarrassed by the powerful princes and nobles who ruled under him, and who had some hereditary rights which he could not altogether ignore. By so much as his will was thwarted in Germany, by so much was he the more determined to have his way where he supposed his will was supreme. He had the ban against Luther, passed by the Diet of Worms

in 1521, published in the Netherlands, and along with it an edict for the suppression of any outcropping of Lutheranism in that country. He was none too early, for already the contagion of the new faith had begun to show itself. It had been brought in by Swiss and German soldiers who had been employed by Charles in his military operations, and also by foreign merchants, who along with other commodities brought this in and offered it without money and without price.

The First Victims.—On the first of July, 1523, two Augustinian monks, having shown that they were hopelessly enthralled by the evangelical doctrines which were being preached at Wittenberg by their fellow Augustinian, were tied to stakes and burnt at Brussels. By consenting to be thus tied and burned Henry Voes and John Esch purchased the right to have their names transmitted to the remotest posterity. This kindling of martyr fires served notice on the Netherlands that their royal master was terribly in earnest, and that no delicate sensibilities would prevent his discharging to the fullest the sacred duty which he owed to the Church.

Rule by Regents.—Charles' dominions were too vast for him to give his personal attention to every part of them. He was bound to leave largely to others the execution of his will. In the Netherlands he intrusted to his aunt, Margaret of Savoy, the pleasant task of carrying into effect his pious and sanguinary "placards," as they were called, against heretics. It seems not to have afforded his aunt a great deal of pleasure to burn the troublesome Calvinists, and consequently she did not discharge her duty very efficiently. On her death, Charles with that tender regard for his family which ever characterized him, appointed his sister Maria, the widowed

queen of Hungary, to succeed her. The burning of live human flesh on account of errors in religion proved not to be to her taste, and so she was less faithful than her aunt had been. As a result of this leniency, the outlawed opinions, pressing over the borders both from Germany on the north, and from France on the south, spread at a rapid rate. It was soon discovered that these opinions, coming from opposite directions, were not exactly the same. They differed especially and widely on the subject of the sacraments. When the difference was clearly defined, the Dutch people showed a decided preference for the views of Calvin. Hence Calvinism instead of Lutheranism was the type of the Reformed faith that had to fight for existence against the destructive efforts of Charles. It was peculiarly fortunate that it had an opportunity to travel far and take deep root before encountering the awful stress of conflict which came on later. Let it not be supposed, however, that "leniency" means that the regents permitted the fires of persecution to die out entirely. So far from it, they furnished ample opportunity for martyrdoms. In the meanwhile the Anabaptists, a name covering a great variety of characters, from true and noble Christians down to disreputable and disorderly fanatics, offered occasion by their excesses for Charles to issue from time to time fresh placards of growing severity. In a blood-curdling one which he published in 1550, he made significant reference to "Inquisitors of the Faith." This greatly alarmed the people as they saw in it a prospect that the famous Inquisition which had recently done such splendid work in Spain for the maintenance of good order in Church and state might be introduced for the same purpose into the Neth-

erlands. Merchants prepared to emigrate, trade and commerce received a violent shock.

The reign of Charles, however, was drawing near its end. The number of martyrs for whose death he was responsible has been variously estimated, ranging from thirty to one hundred thousand. Taking even the lowest figure, thirty thousand, it might be supposed that the Netherlands had no tears to shed over the termination of his reign, and yet they did shed tears in great abundance.

Resignation of Charles V.—This greatest ruler of his age was a great glutton, and grossly sensual in other respects. He paid the penalty by suffering from the gout, and by premature old age. In 1555, the burdens of empire had become too heavy for his racked and wrecked body, and although only fifty-five years and eight months old, he transferred the scepter to his son Philip II, in order that he might devote the remainder of his life to religious retirement in a monastery. Much he needed the retirement, but unfortunately he carried with him his old habits, and consequently kept his old maladies. Nor did he withdraw his mind from the great, busy, sinful world. His hatred of heretics grew more intense, and he did his soul a gratuitous injury by regretting that he had not broken faith with Luther at the Diet of Worms and put to death the man who had given the world so much trouble. So far was he from repenting, as he should have done, of the oppressions and cruelties inflicted on the patient and loyal Netherlands, that he rather repented of having shown so little zeal in the extermination of heretics.

Philip II.—Impartial history has about as little to commend in this monarch as in any whose name she has pre-

served for us. The worst enemy of his father could find something in him to admire. He was a great soldier, hardy and brave. He was broad of shoulder, strong of limb and able to hold his own in tourney with the sturdiest knights of his time. But Philip's best friend can find nothing in him to admire, either in mind or body. His mind was only broad enough for a few inherited ideas ; and his body was frail and diminutive, incapable of manly sports, or of warlike achievements. His appearance was unattractive, his spirit selfish, and his nature cold and cruel. He was united to Mary Tudor, queen of England, on the 25th of July, 1554, "and if congeniality of tastes," says Motley, "could have made a marriage happy, that union should have been thrice blessed. To maintain the supremacy of the Church seemed to both the main object of existence, to execute unbelievers the most sacred duty imposed by the Deity upon anointed princes, to convert their kingdoms into a hell the surest means of winning heaven for themselves."

Beginnings of the New Reign.—We may easily believe that to the bigoted and atrabilious Philip, the task left incomplete by his father was congenial. It furnished him a fine field for the cultivation and exploitation of his piety. Sure it is that he took up the work in the Netherlands with great zeal, and he found plenty to do. Despite the burnings and hangings and buryings alive, there was a large crop of heretics left, and they were still multiplying rapidly. In the language of a Catholic writer : "Nor did the Rhine from Germany, or the Meuse from France send more water into the Low Countries, than by the one the contagion of Luther, and by the other that of Calvin were imported into the same Belgic provinces." Philip, in order to tighten the grip of the Church, not on

the hearts, but on the necks of the people, increased the number of bishops. Hitherto four had been deemed sufficient to administer the affairs of the seventeen provinces. He added ten to this number, making the total fourteen. His aunt having resigned the regency on the abdication of her brother, the emperor, Philip appointed in her place his half sister, Margaret, Duchess of Parma, and gave her for principal counselor the most astute of the Spanish bishops, Cardinal Granvella. These measures were all offensive to the Netherlanders. Increasing the number of bishops decreased the power of the secular princes, for the reason that the bishops had seats in the civil council. The appointment of Margaret was a slight put upon the native nobles; and the exaltation of Cardinal Granvella was a notification that strenuous efforts would be made to bring the Netherlands as completely under the domination of the papacy as the Pope himself could wish. He was a man of affairs, and of great ability, but his supreme qualification for the position assigned him was his devotion to his master's policy, and complete sympathy with his master's intolerant spirit.

Republishing the Edict of 1550.—Philip began his administration by republishing the placard of 1550. He was at pains to have it understood that he was merely carrying out the policy of his father. He was not introducing an innovation, but following in the footsteps of one whose clemency had made him popular with his Dutch subjects. It may be well to look at this placard by way of getting a clear idea of Charles' clemency. Translated by an eminent authority, it reads as follows: "No one shall print, write, copy, keep, conceal, sell, buy or give in churches, streets, or other places any book or writing made by Martin Luther, John Œcolampadius,

Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, or other heretics reprobated by the Holy Church; nor break or otherwise injure the images of the holy virgin or canonized saints; nor in his house, hold conventicles, or illegal gatherings, or be present at any such in which the adherents of the above-mentioned heretics teach, baptize, and form conspiracies against the Holy Church and the general welfare. Moreover, we forbid all lay persons to converse or dispute concerning the holy Scriptures, openly or secretly, especially on any doubtful or difficult matters, or to read, teach, or expound the Scriptures, unless they have duly studied theology and been approved by some renowned university; or to preach secretly or openly, or to entertain any of the opinions of the above-mentioned heretics; on pain should any one be found to have contravened any of the points above mentioned as perturbators of our state and of the general quiet, to be punished in the following manner, viz.,—the men with the sword, and the women to be buried alive, if they do not persist in their errors; if they do persist in them then they are to be executed with fire; all their property in both cases being confiscated to the crown.” The clemency of this edict consists in the merciful consideration shown to the penitent heretic. If a man, he was gently dispatched by the sword; if a woman, she was tenderly buried alive; and thus they both escaped the cruel agony of the flames. It can hardly be supposed that with this inducement held out to them any heretics died unrepentant.

Philip II Returns to Spain.—After organizing his government, and getting everything in running order, Philip left the Netherlands and never came again to see his beloved subjects, over whose religious interests he watched with such kindly concern. On his return to his native

country of Spain, his loving people prepared him a reception to his taste. It was an *auto da fé*, a kind of religious festival in which thirteen heretics, clothed in yellow gowns, decorated with red devils, were burnt with much ceremony. As one of the victims, a young man of noble birth, and distinguished ability, passed the king on his way to the stake, he asked, "How can you look on and permit me to be burnt?" To which Philip replied, "I would carry the wood to burn my own son, were he as wicked as you." Perhaps the Netherlands acted wisely to shed tears over the abdication of Charles V.

Persecution Must be Pressed.—Philip gave stringent orders that the famous placard of 1550 should be faithfully executed. He said that he would rather suffer a hundred thousand deaths than to suffer the slightest deviation from the standards of the Catholic Church. His sister Margaret was not a bad choice to superintend and hasten the business in hand. The fact that she was Philip's sister furnished a strong guarantee of special qualifications for such work. In addition to possessing hereditary gifts for the exercise of tyranny, she had enjoyed the benefit of having no less a personage than Ignatius de Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order, for her father confessor and spiritual guide. Under such tuition she had well learned the lesson that there was no crime equal to heresy and no work so meritorious as burning heretics.

Discontent Growing.—It might have been foreseen that heretics would be so unreasonable as to seriously object to being burnt, or even to being executed by the mild method of the sword, or by the yet gentler process of being buried alive. But they were not the only ones to object to the arbitrary proceedings of the king. Without regard to religious differences, the people looked

with disfavor on the assumption that a man of foreign birth, of foreign language, of foreign customs and manner of life had a right to set up his lone will as the supreme law over their lives and property. They had known too much in the past of local self-government to relish this assumption. Moreover, they did not like the Spaniards any too well. Especially they did not like to have Spanish troops quartered on them, and had earnestly entreated Philip to send them back to Spain. His reluctance to do this awakened a suspicion that he meant to use them for the purpose of making his power absolute.

A Protest by the Nobles.—After a few thousand heretics had been put to death, and a few other thousands had been driven into exile, the discontent shaped itself into a protest. The nobles, to the number of five hundred, banded together and laid before the regent a petition, praying for a redress of grievances. The duchess displayed considerable agitation; whereupon one of her counselors exclaimed: "Madam, are you afraid of a pack of beggars?" When this speech was reported to the authors of the petition, they adopted the name, "Beggars," and wore it as a badge of patriotism. At a banquet, one of the nobles proposed as a toast the sentiment, "Long live the Beggars!" Each guest drained his goblet, amid shouts of "*Vivent les gueux*." And thus "for the first time from the lips of these reckless nobles rose the famous cry, which was so often to ring over land and sea, amid blazing cities, on blood-stained decks, through the smoke and carnage of many a stricken field."

Notwithstanding the insulting sarcasm of the haughty counselor, the petition bore fruit. The government abated the severity of its violence against heretics—it substituted hanging for burning. The decree, embody-

ing this merciful concession, was called *The Moderation*. The ungrateful wretches, in whose behalf it was issued, renamed it "*The Murderation*." The government was disposed to be accommodating, but it seemed that it could devise no way of destroying heretics, to which objection would not be taken.

Events of the Year 1566.—The petition, to which reference has just been made, belonged to this year. One month after this significant event, the Calvinists of the southern provinces met in convention at Antwerp. They met in secret but in considerable numbers, their object was to lay the foundation of Church organization. The Reformed faith had gained such a footing that it seemed necessary to take steps to bind its scattered adherents into a united brotherhood. Progress toward this end was made by this convention. Also this meeting together stimulated the courage of the Reformers, which had already been kindled afresh by the stand of the nobles in their petition to the regent. Many preachers came forth from their hiding places and began to proclaim their message openly and without reserve. Suddenly field-preaching developed into a great popular movement. It is estimated that sometimes as many as 20,000 gathered at one place to hear the new doctrines expounded. It mattered not that both preacher and hearers were incurring the death penalty, they preached and heard with growing enthusiasm. At length the feelings evoked by these meetings could no longer be repressed. They had become so ardent that they must have an outlet. Arming themselves with sticks and clubs, the people started on a crusade, not against flesh and blood, however. They entered churches, smashed the windows, and demolished the countless images that

had become the chief objects of worship. They were utterly merciless. They even entered the beautiful Cathedral of Antwerp, and made a hideous wreck of its vast collection of fine art; the statuary was broken, the pictures torn from the walls, the gorgeous windows dashed to pieces, crucifixes and altars, shattered to atoms. They have been much reproached for all this vandalism. They no doubt did show a lack of taste, and may have been wanting in æsthetic culture. Some, however, who think that human life is more sacred than chiseled marble, and painted canvas, are disposed to compliment their moderation in that they were content to wage a warfare against the creations of artistic genius in retaliation for the blood of kindred which had been so freely shed by the image-worshippers.

Serious Consequences.—Whatever may be said in justification or palliation of this outburst of iconoclasm, nothing can be said in its defense on the ground of expediency. It was an outrage on religious sentiment, false and foolish no doubt the sentiment was, but the outrage awakened a resentment as fierce as the assault was violent. Many Catholics who were in sympathy with the growing opposition to Philip and his Spaniards were repelled by what seemed to them nothing less than sacrilegious vandalism. Philip, of course, was angry beyond measure when news of the affair reached him. In fact he was never able to see why the people received with such poor grace his pious efforts to save them from perdition by the vigorous use of the halter and the torch. This audacious resistance to his divinely-delegated authority must be dealt with promptly and properly. To this end he sent the Duke of Alva with a choice army of 10,000 veteran troops. The duke was in Italy at the

time, and as his route to the Netherlands carried him near Geneva, Pope Pius V proposed to him to turn aside and destroy that "nest of devils and apostates." Fortunately for our great Calvin and his colaborers, who were designated by these complimentary titles, the duke could not be diverted from his course. When he reached the Low Countries, the gentle Margaret was removed, and the whole management of affairs was put into the hands of the hardy soldier. He at once organized a Council of Disturbances, the object of which was to bring to speedy justice the leaders of the recent uprising. It would seem that the leaders must have been very numerous, for this council had, at the end of three months, put to death 1,800 persons. Those who witnessed the efficiency of this machinery for administering justice renamed it "The Council of Blood." But the methods of the council were still too slow to satisfy the zeal of the king, and so an edict was issued condemning all the Netherlanders to death, with a few specified exceptions. It seemed much simpler to pick out the few who deserved to live than to prosecute and convict the many who deserved to die.

William of Orange.—Even the king's readiness to promote the spiritual welfare of his subjects by hanging them all failed to secure their approbation. And being unwilling to testify their loyalty by quietly submitting to strangulation, their only alternative was to fight. The Lord had provided a man for the occasion. The name of "William the Silent," Prince of Orange, is a name that will live in history side by side with that of Washington and a few other choice spirits, whose greatness is glorified by goodness. William was born of Lutheran parents, but reared a Catholic in the court of Charles V. He was a great favorite with the emperor, who kept him

ever near him, and leaned on his shoulder to support his own crippled body during the imposing solemnities accompanying the abdication. Philip II continued to honor the favorite of his father, and employed him in responsible positions. For one thing he gave him as a hostage to Henry II, of France, as a pledge of good faith in the Treaty of Ceteau-Cambrésis. It was at this time that William earned the title by which he will ever be known. Henry II, taking it for granted that his hostage was a good Catholic and in the secrets of his master, talked to him freely about the plot which the two kings of France and Spain had formed to massacre all their Protestant subjects. William maintained a discreet silence, not betraying by the slightest quiver of a muscle of the face, or twitch of the eye the fact that Henry had made a great blunder in telling him a piece of news that filled his soul with horror, and gave a new bent to the course of his life.

Beginning of the Great Struggle.—The Duke of Alva, with his Council of Blood, had been especially active in bringing to justice the rich nobles who had taken any hand in presenting the petition of the "Beggars" to the regent, or who had failed to take any hand in suppressing the field-preaching and preventing the image-smashing. As the property of those who were convicted was confiscated, the duke by destroying the rich was killing two birds with one stone, putting traitors out of the way, and putting money into the king's coffers. While William of Orange had behaved with the greatest prudence, he knew that he was too rich to be safe, and so he withdrew into Germany. When it became evident that the crushing of heresy, meant the crushing out of all liberty, political and religious, in the Netherlands, he

determined to stake all on an effort to deliver his beloved country from such a fate. He raised a considerable force in Germany, marched across the border and joined issue with the duke. This was in the year 1568, and marks the beginning of a struggle that lasted forty years, a struggle in which both sides exhibited desperate courage, and in which the people of the Low Countries, on whose soil it was waged, endured all the horrors that war in its most cruel form could inflict. The struggle ended in the triumph of the invincible "Beggars," and the establishment of the Dutch Republic. It was twice forty years, however, before Spain confessed her defeat by acknowledging the independence of the provinces.

Change in the Regency.—In this famous struggle, William of Orange met successively the ablest generals that Spain could send against him, and they were among the ablest of that warlike age. After the Duke of Alva had put to death, according to his own count, 18,000 heretics and after he had almost destroyed trade and commerce by a destructive system of taxation, and after he had heaped upon his head the undying hatred of all the people by six years of brutal tyranny, he took his permanent leave of the country, with his task unaccomplished. He was succeeded by Requesens, a man of equal military genius, but of a much more conciliatory temper. This made him more dangerous to the cause of liberty, for the reason that by a show of kindness he might beguile the distressed people into a disastrous sense of security.

Siege and Relief of Leyden.—It was during the regency of Requesens that the crowning incident of the war occurred—the siege and relief of Leyden. As indicating the quality of Dutch heroism, we may be permitted to con-

dense from Motley's account the story of this event. The city of Leyden was situated in a beautiful plain, in the midst of orchards and gardens. It was invested in the month of May, 1574, by an army of 8,000 Spanish troops. It was poorly provisioned, and by the latter part of June, the food supply was running short. On the 30th of July, when the Spanish general knew that their condition was becoming desperate, he offered them ample pardon if they would open their gates to him. They treated the offer with contempt. Soon they were reduced to the very verge of starvation, and there seemed no prospect of deliverance. William was doing all that he could. He had cut the dikes, and turned the North Sea on the land as the only means of bringing relief. As the waters began to pour in, the Spaniards were filled with alarm. It appeared as if they were to be besieged in their turn by the ocean whose power was even mightier, and more merciless, if possible, than their own. The citizens of Leyden were exultant. The burgomaster ordered bands of music to parade the streets, playing lively airs. Salvos of cannon were fired; and the starving indulged in festive joy. But alas! the waters did not rise high enough to carry the flotilla of vessels, bearing relief, to the walls of the city. It stranded five miles away; and days grew into weeks while destined help lay in sight, but only near enough to tantalize their wistful eyes. At length the faint-hearted were about to yield to despair. They gathered around the heroic burgomaster, Adrian Van der Werf, with threats and reproaches. He was a striking figure, "tall, haggard, with dark visage, and a tranquil but commanding eye. He waved his broad-brimmed, felt hat for silence, and then exclaimed: 'My own fate is indifferent to me, not so that of the city intrusted to

my care. I know that we shall starve, unless soon relieved; but starvation is preferable to the dishonored death which is the only alternative. Your menaces move me not; my life is at your disposal; here is my sword, plunge it into my breast and divide my flesh among you. Take my body to appease your hunger, but expect no surrender so long as I remain alive.' ” These stout words inspired fresh courage and were greeted with a shout of applause. Already everything that usually goes for the food of human beings had been consumed. “Cats and dogs, rats and other vermin were esteemed a luxury. Starving wretches swarmed daily around the shambles, where the few remaining milk cows, kept as long as possible for their milk, were being killed, contending for any morsel that might fall, and lapping eagerly the blood as it ran along the pavement; while the hides, chopped and boiled were greedily devoured. Women and children all day long were seen searching the gutters and dunghills for morsels of food, which they disputed fiercely with the famishing dogs. The green leaves were stripped from the trees, every living herb was converted into human food, but these could not avert starvation. The daily mortality was frightful; infants starved to death on the maternal breast, which famine had parched and withered; mothers dropped dead in the streets, with their dead children in their arms.” It is certainly not remarkable that people in such a case should have pleaded with the commandant to surrender. It is remarkable, however, that after his brave words they could hurl defiance again in the face of their taunting foes, crying to them from the top of their ramparts: “You call us rat-eaters, and dog-eaters, and it is true. So long then as you hear a dog bark, or a cat mew within the walls, you may know that the city holds

out. And when all has perished but ourselves, be sure that we will each devour our left arms, retaining our right arms to defend our women, our liberty and our religion against the foreign tyrant. Should God in his wrath doom us to destruction, and deny us all relief, even then will we maintain ourselves forever against your entrance. When the last hour has come, with our own hands we will set fire to the city and perish, men, women and children together in the flames, rather than suffer our homes to be polluted, and our liberties to be crushed." It is a comfort to know that God did not in his wrath doom them to destruction, but suddenly turning a strong north wind on the waters of the ocean, he lifted them into huge billows, and sent them tumbling over the ruined dikes, and sweeping up around the stranded vessels. These were soon raised from the mud, and borne onward to the city, into the gates of which they entered on the 3d day of October. The emaciated remnants of the population were waiting their advent. They recognized the good hand of God in their deliverance, and went in a body to the cathedral. There they poured out thanksgiving to God, at first in song, but soon their feeble voices failed, and they finished the service with a tribute of grateful tears.

This was the turning point in the great conflict. Spain had learned by this time that the task of exterminating heresy meant nothing less than the extermination of the great majority of the people; and while the king's piety was earnest enough to carry matters to that extent, his material resources were hardly adequate.

The Spanish Fury.—Shortly after this crowning event of the struggle, Requesens died, and the Spanish troops, grown sullen and discontented because of the long arrear-

age in their pay, mutinied, trampled all restraint under foot, and gave loose rein to passions more fiendish than human. The city of Antwerp which had witnessed a Calvinistic mob wreak its malice on pictures and images, was now to witness a Catholic army, transformed into a mob, make a display of itself. The soldiers showed no respect for anything sacred, nor any regard for anything living. They entered houses, laid their hands on whatever was valuable, slaughtered the inmates, sometimes meting out worse than death to helpless women. Stores were looted, churches demolished, and the streets were running red with the blood of those slain in the very wantonness of brutality. More lives were destroyed in Antwerp by the "Spanish Fury," as it was called, than were destroyed in Paris on St. Bartholomew's fatal day. Where Calvinists destroyed the worthless images, these soldiers, trained in the faith of the papacy, fairly reveled in the butchery of human beings.

The Pacification of Ghent.—The effect of the Spanish Fury was favorable to the Protestant cause. Previous to this time the two provinces of Holland and Zealand had declared their independence and united on William of Orange for their stadtholder; but there had been no unity of effort among the other provinces. Now the other fifteen, alienated from Spain by the savage outrages of her uncontrolled soldiers, were ready to make common cause with the two. Conference led to the Pacification of Ghent. This was an agreement to stand together in an effort to drive the Spaniards from the Netherlands. Protestant and Catholic were at length united in a well-considered resolve to be rid of foreign tyranny, and military oppression.

Founding of the Dutch Republic.—Philip sent Don

John of Austria, his half brother, to fill the regency, made vacant by the death of Requesens. He was a renowned soldier, having distinguished himself very greatly in a war with the Moors. More recently he had added to his fame by a victory over the Turks in a naval battle in the Gulf of Lepanto. This was the first serious check which the Turks had received in their aggressive warfare on Central Europe. The Pope had tried in vain to stir the old crusading spirit, and to hurl against the Crescent the combined powers of Western Christendom. In this he had failed, and in consequence was trembling for the fate of his throne. This naval battle, in which Don John was leading the Christian forces would decide it. He listened with bated breath for news from Lepanto. When a messenger came, and announced the result, the Pope embraced the messenger, exclaiming, "There was a man sent from God whose name was John." This was the man whom Philip sent to the Netherlands, but it may be doubted whether the Protestants regarded him as "a man sent from God." Under his vigorous leadership, the war went on with its treacheries, its massacres, its sieges and its famines. After winning many victories and proving himself a worthy successor of the bloody Alva, Don John died in a mood of deep despondency, not on account of his sins, but because he had lost the confidence and support of the home government, and was thwarted in his congenial task of destruction. He was followed by his nephew, the Duke of Parma, who surpassed all of his predecessors in military genius, and who was also an adept in the art of diplomacy. Unfortunately the feeling of resentment, the sense of outrage, awakened by the Spanish Fury, had begun to abate, and the inhabitants of the southern provinces were willing to

listen to the voice of the charmer. They were of a different race from their northern neighbors. Their language was French, and they were essentially a Celtic people, having the Celtic characteristics, warm-blooded, impulsive and mercurial. The inhabitants of the northern provinces were of the sturdy Teutonic stock, noted since the days of Julius Cæsar for its spirit of independence, and its heroic fortitude. The Duke of Parma, by his specious speeches, and conciliatory bearing, succeeded in severing these two dissimilar elements, and in bringing the ten provinces which now constitute the kingdom of Belgium permanently under the power of the papacy. The other seven provinces continued to hang together, and to wage a desperate warfare with the tremendous odds which Spain marshaled against them. They suffered many defeats, and won few victories, but by patient endurance and dogged perseverance they finally wore out their relentless adversary. In the Treaty of Utrecht, 1579, their independence was practically conceded, and the foundations of the Dutch Republic were laid deep and lasting.

Fortunes of the Church.—The foregoing account has seemed necessary in order to give some idea of the condition of turmoil and bloodshed in which the Reformed Church of the Netherlands was born, and in which the years of its infancy were passed. As already noticed two types of evangelical doctrine flowed into the country from opposite directions. While Lutheranism was first on the ground, Calvinism first took definite shape and soon supplanted its rival. To Guy de Brès, a Walloon preacher, belongs the honor of preparing for the scattered congregations a Confession of Faith. He had been taught by Calvin, and as the faith which he formulated

had been received from France it was natural that this Confession should be modeled closely after that of the French Church. It was prepared as early as 1561, only two years after the Gallic Confession had been adopted by the first synod of the Reformed Church of France. The convention of Antwerp, secretly held in 1566, approved both the Confession of Guy de Brés, and the Heidelberg Catechism.

External Synods.—It was the next year after the Antwerp convention that the Duke of Alva descended on the Netherlands and began his furious persecution. Many of the Protestant leaders fled across the border, and took refuge in the city of Wesel. Here a synod was held in 1568. This synod in addition to ratifying the two symbols above mentioned proceeded to erect a superstructure of Church government. They made provision for four officers, and defined their duties; these were pastors, teachers, ruling elders and deacons. Another synod met at Emden, which confirmed the action of that at Wesel, and made certain additions. It required that ministers should subscribe the standards of doctrine, gave the name consistory to the congregational court, formed by pastor, elders and deacons, and provided for classes which should meet quarterly, or semiannually. Thus these exiles constructed the whole machinery of the Church, and only awaited favorable conditions to return home and put it in operation. Such conditions prevailed in the provinces of Holland and Zealand as early as 1572, the year in which these provinces declared their independence.

Synods in the Home Land.—The first synod to assemble on native soil met in the city of Dort in 1574. It organized the churches of the two independent prov-

inces into fourteen classes, and enjoined upon them the articles adopted at Emden.

The first National Synod was held in the same city of Dort in 1578. It completed the polity of the Church by defining four courts of the Church, consistories, classes, provincial and national synods, the last to meet triennially.

Relation of Church and State.—The first National Synod was called without the consent of the civil power, and it declared that the Church had a right to manage its own affairs. The Church did not mean to separate entirely from the state. Its theory was that Church and state should be copartners, each independent in its own sphere, but both coöperating in forwarding the same interests. The Church should lend its counsels and influence to the state; and the state should give to the Church the benefit of its strong arm of power in regulating faith and morals. Like the Protestant Church of France, the Reformed Church of the Netherlands put into its Confession of Faith its belief that it was the office of the civil magistrate “to remove and prevent all idolatry and false worship, that the kingdom of Antichrist may thus be destroyed, and the kingdom of Christ promoted.” In other words it was the doctrine of the Reformers, as it was the doctrine of the papacy, that heresy should be suppressed by the sword. They differed only as to what constituted heresy. Very naturally those who were not ardent Calvinists were in no haste to put power in their hands. They feared that in so doing they would sacrifice the religious freedom which they had purchased at such a dear price. William of Orange wished freedom of worship for Catholics, and even for the Anabaptists. From the very beginning of the struggle to cast off

Spanish tyranny he had expressed the conviction that faith could not be controlled by violence. He was therefore utterly averse to clothing the Church with power that would enable it to persecute. He wished the state to have the appointment of ministers and the general administration of Church affairs. He was not alone in his views. The magistrates of Leyden said: "If we accept everything resolved on by the synods, we shall in the end become their vassals. We will not open to the churchmen our gates and our doors for a new mastership over magistrates and subjects, wife and child." No doubt the influence of Luther and Zwingli had much to do in producing this demand of the state for rulership over the Church. The outcome was the disappointment of the hopes of the Reformers to have a national Church possessing complete autonomy. They had to consent to a separate church for each province, the highest court being the Provincial Synod. Of course, the churches of all the provinces were bound together by a close bond of sympathy inasmuch as they all had the same polity, the same creed and constitution. But over all, the civil power exercised a supervisory control.

Devotion to Learning.—Nothing was more characteristic of the youthful Church in the Netherlands than its love for learning. Recognizing that they owed to the light of knowledge their escape from the errors of Romanism, they were intent on giving this light to the whole land. Knowing that Protestantism was due to a revival of the pure doctrines of the gospel, and that its life depended upon a true theology, they lost no time and spared no pains in providing for permanent and thorough instruction. The spirit of the people may be judged by the choice made by Leyden. The service

which her heroic people had rendered to the cause of liberty by sustaining the siege in 1574 until deliverance could be brought merited the warmest recognition. William the Silent was prompt to acknowledge this and to offer a fitting reward. He gave the city the choice of exemption from certain taxes, and other pecuniary favors, or the establishment of a university in her midst. The people, so recently stripped of their property, and reduced to the verge of starvation, at once made choice of the university. Certain funds and buildings were set apart for the purpose by the prince, and the University of Leyden was duly inaugurated only four months after the siege was raised. Eleven years afterwards, and while the terrible war was still in progress the University of Franeker was founded. By the middle of the next century three other great institutions of learning were established, and the Dutch Republic became the schoolmaster of Reformed Christendom. While all branches of learning made up the curricula of these schools, they gave special prominence to theology, and from that day till this Holland has been famous for her theologians. These have not always followed the "old paths," but from time to time, they have made serious departures and precipitated fierce and protracted controversies.

Arminianism.—The first of the great theological battles was over views propounded by Arminius. He began his public ministry as pastor of the church of Amsterdam. He gained reputation for learning and eloquence. It was while pastor of this church, and in an endeavor to meet certain difficulties raised by his parishioners touching the doctrine of election that he gave proof of having departed from the doctrinal standards of the Reformed Church. This created considerable disturbance, but after a time

the trouble was adjusted and the excitement died down. He was transferred from the pastorate to the professorship of theology in the University of Leyden. It soon developed that he was teaching objectionable views. Gomarus, a colleague of his in the faculty of the university, and who belonged to the "most straitest sect" of the Calvinists, took up arms against him. The conflict spread until the whole country was excited over it, and divided into hostile parties. While the strife was still raging, and even growing more bitter, Arminius died in 1609. By this time his views had won quite a strong body of adherents. They presented their views to the States-general in a paper called a remonstrance, and from this circumstance they came to be called Remonstrants.

Synod of Dort.—When there seemed no other way of settling the vexing questions, a synod was called to meet in the city of Dort on November 13th, 1618. Reformed churches of other countries were invited to send delegates. Several accepted the invitation, and there were delegates present from England, Germany, Switzerland and the Southern Netherlands. This was the recognition of a common faith, and the profession of essential unity among all these churches. While we may regret the rise of Arminianism, we can at the same time rejoice that there was assembled one truly œcumenical council in Protestant Christendom during the Reformation period. The synod agreed to make the word of God the sole standard of judgment and to subject the matters in dispute to that test. The result was the condemnation of the five distinctive doctrines of the Arminians, and the affirmation in their stead of what have since been known as the "five points of Calvinism." The synod continued in session for several months, and its decrees were adopted

by the Reformed Church of Holland as a part of its standards, and they so continue to this day. It is interesting to know that the hall in which this famous synod met is now used as a prison for female offenders.

The Netherlands a Place of Refuge.—While the doctrine of religious liberty was not clearly apprehended by the Dutch, the government of that brave little republic was far more liberal than that of any of its neighbors. Hence it became a place of blessed retreat for the poor Huguenots of France, the Puritans of England, and the Covenanters of Scotland. These refugees were permitted to organize themselves into churches and provide in their own way for their own religious needs. In some instances church edifices were freely put at their use. Then the great universities were at hand, offering their unparalleled advantages to those who could avail themselves of them. It would not be easy to exaggerate the debt which the persecuted saints of other lands owed to freedom-loving and freedom-giving Holland. Perhaps not the least part of this debt was due to theological contributions which the Reformed Church of the Netherlands made to sister churches beyond her borders. It is hardly true to the history of doctrine, however, to attribute, as is too often done, the origin and development of the federal theology altogether to the able scholars of that land. It is enough to say that Cocceius gave it a more complete elaboration than it had before received, and owing to the very influential relation of Holland to the churches of England and Scotland, the creedal statements of these churches were more or less colored by the Dutch theology.

The Church of the Netherlands in More Recent Times.—An eminent authority says that the effect of the

Synod of Dort was to draw more closely the bond between Church and state. The synod was called by the state; its meetings were supervised by delegates from the state; it asked and obtained the approval of the state for all its proceedings; and expected the state to enforce its decisions against the Remonstrants. From this time forth the Church was in bondage to the state. It derived its support from the public purse, and took its law largely from the secular power. While it gave birth to many great and noble spirits, did much to promote sound learning, and for a time exhibited a fair measure of zeal in the maintenance and promotion of a high type of piety, yet the freshness and buoyancy of its young life felt the deadening effect of this unhappy union.

This condition continued until the French Revolution, when the Dutch Republic became a part of the Empire of France. The bond between Church and state was severed, and for a few years the Church was thrown on her own resources, and permitted to go her own way. On the fall of Napoleon, the Netherlands were transformed into a kingdom, with William I. on the throne. He laid a strong hand on the Church, throwing rigid restrictions around the administration of its courts, and decreeing that none of their resolutions should be promulgated without his approval.

Rise of Rationalism.—It was only a few years before rationalism began to creep into pulpits and seminaries. Those who subscribed the standards took the ground that they were bound by them only in so far as they were in accord with the word of God, and the subscribers, of course, were to be the judges. Earnest protest was made, but the synod, which was the creature of the king, sustained the position of those who claimed liberty. The

men of evangelical views who still adhered to the standards in their integrity were greatly grieved, but discipline was not possible. Some took the only course that would satisfy conscience,—they separated themselves from the Church, whose testimony had ceased to ring clear for the truth. The first to break away was Henry de Cock in 1834. He was soon followed by a few others, eminent for piety and learning.

Formation of the Christian Reformed Church.—In 1837, those who had separated themselves from the National Church met together and organized a Church independent of state control and of state support, and gave it the name of the Christian Reformed. The king, who had shown such a disposition to govern with a high hand expressed his disapproval of this movement in a very vigorous way by inflicting fines and imprisonments on the separatists. In consequence of these persecutions a large number from the Christian Reformed Church left the Fatherland in 1847 and came to America. It is sad to have to record that after nearly the whole of Protestant Christendom had come to look upon persecution for opinion's sake as a characteristic of a barbarous age, the practice was revived near the middle of the nineteenth century, and among a people who had at an earlier period won an enviable name for their spirit of tolerance. But, as is usually the case, the persecuted Church flourished, and soon attained a position of great power.

The sovereigns who succeeded William I. were far more liberal, and since his day there has been no further state interference. Still the government of the National Church developed from bad to worse. Rationalism increased, the synod in 1853 declaring that its ministers would be required to agree only with "the spirit and

essence" of the standards. A second secession took place in 1886 under the leadership of the distinguished Dr. Kuyper. It has since united with the Christian Reformed Church. Before this union two theological seminaries had been founded, to secure a succession of educated and orthodox ministers,—one at Kampen and the other at Amsterdam. An effort is being made at present to consolidate these two, the outcome of which will be watched with interest.

CHAPTER V

AUSTRIA

I. BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA

First Reformers.—Huss and Jerome, names spoken with reverence by all evangelical churches, were burnt by the Council of Constance in the years 1415 and 1416. Their offense was an effort to put the word of God in its proper position of supreme authority, and to bring the clergy of Rome back to the discharge of the duties which by divine appointment belonged to their office, and to reform their lives in harmony with the purity and simplicity of apostolic times. Their martyrdom awakened profound indignation throughout Bohemia. Thousands had opened their minds and hearts to the teaching of those bold assailants of a corrupt priesthood, and the fires kindled at Constance, instead of terrifying them into silence, stirred them to open and vehement protest. An attempt to put down the disaffection by force, caused the Hussites to organize for defense.

Calixtines and Taborites.—Unfortunately, they split into two hostile factions. The one party was known by the name of Calixtines, because they insisted that the cup, as well as the bread, should be given to the laity in the distribution of the elements of the Lord's Supper. For a long while the Church of Rome had refused the cup to the people out of reverence for the wine, lest it should be spilled in passing from one to another. Thomas Aquinas justified this custom by his doctrine of

"concomitance," the doctrine that Christ is whole and entire in each of the elements, and therefore, both his body and his blood are received by those who receive the bread alone.

The other party was more radical, and came to be known by the name of Taborites from the hill on which they strongly fortified themselves and bade successful defiance to their enemies. These went beyond Huss in denouncing the various abuses and errors of the Romish Church. "Their creed which took on new phases from time to time, embraced the leading points of what, a century later, was included in Protestantism."

Though the relation of these two parties was not friendly, they were able to lay aside their mutual animosities and stand together against the efforts of Rome to crush them both. Under the leadership of the brave Ziska, they performed unsurpassed prodigies of valor. They beat back, time after time, the strongest armies of veteran troops that the German emperor could send against them. At length, quitting the defensive, they "carried the war into Africa," and their devastating invasions of the neighboring German states soon made the emperor think of some method of conciliation.

The Council of Basel.—The Pope was equally concerned, for he and the emperor were making common cause, which in this case meant common failure. They put their heads together and concluded to call a general council of the Church, and invite the invincible Hussites to come and confer in reference to some ground of agreement. The council met at Basel in 1430. Having obtained full guarantees for their personal safety and abundant pledges that they should have a fair hearing, representatives from both parties attended the council.

Their reception and treatment were in marked contrast to the burning of their great spiritual guides only fifteen years before. This time there was no disgraceful perjury on the part of the emperor by violating a safe-conduct, and no advice to such a course on the part of the Pope, who claimed the right to absolve one from the obligations of his oath. There was nothing like the power of self-defense to make an emperor and a Pope behave like Christian men. Important concessions were made to the Bohemians, and they departed, victors in the contest. It was not long, however, till the two factions, free from outside danger, went to war against each other, and the brave Taborites, outnumbered by their equally brave adversaries, were practically exterminated.

The Brethren of the Unity.—After the destruction of the Taborites, the Calixtines gradually lost their spiritual ardor, and many of them melted back into the Catholic Church. In fact they had never been formally separated from it, and gradually they became enveloped again in the prevailing spiritual darkness. But God had his chosen remnant. He did not suffer the seed sown in the tears and nourished by the blood of his children to fail of its blessed fruitage. About the middle of the fifteenth century there arose another party, inheriting the evangelical ideas of the past, and manifesting a disposition in harmony with them. They were the Taborites in doctrine, but with peaceful and gentle spirits. They separated entirely from the Church and took the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, known in after history as the Bohemian Brethren. Many nobles joined them and by the beginning of the sixteenth century they had gathered a good degree of strength, numbering 400 parishes and 200,000 members. Their organization was substantially

Presbyterian, but their doctrinal views, while evangelical, were not formulated into a logical system.

Luther had not long been assailing the errors of Romanism till his teachings reached Bohemia. They were carried thither in his writings and also in the minds and hearts of Bohemian students who attended the Wittenberg University. Moreover, the Bohemian Brethren sent several deputations to consult Luther, one of which in 1536 carried their Confession of Faith for Luther to examine. He disapproved of some of its views, but after slight modifications, he published it at their expense, and sent it forth with a favorable preface, written by his own hand.

When war broke out in Germany between the emperor and the Protestants, banded together in the Smalcald League, Ferdinand, king of Bohemia wished all of his subjects to side with the emperor. This was very natural, inasmuch as he was the emperor's brother, and was also an intense Catholic. Very naturally, the Bohemian Protestants did not wish to fight against their Protestant brethren in Germany. They had a very stubborn way of not doing what they did not wish to do, and the result was a refusal on their part to help their king in the war, and when the war terminated in victory for the emperor, Ferdinand took vengeance on his disobedient subjects by persecuting them severely and banishing many of them from his country. But those left behind continued to grow in numbers. Their next king did them little harm, and they enjoyed several years of peaceful prosperity.

Change of Views.—In the latter part of the sixteenth century, their intercourse with Swiss reformers led the non-German population of Bohemia to change from

Luther to Calvin. The Church put forth a great many confessions, but in 1781, all these gave place to the second Helvetic, which, along with the Heidelberg Catechism, continues to be their official standard of doctrine.

Such was the growth of Protestantism in Bohemia that by the beginning of the seventeenth century the Protestants included four fifths of the entire population, some writers put their number at nine tenths. They had sufficient strength in 1608 to constrain the emperor, Rudolph II, to grant them full religious and political rights, securing for themselves a separate consistory at Prague, and the control of the university. This marked the culmination of their temporal prosperity, and it was not long till disasters unspeakable overtook them.

The Persecution Under Ferdinand II.—In the year 1617, Ferdinand of Styria secured possession of the crown of Bohemia. He was a zealous Catholic, educated by the Jesuits and thoroughly imbued with the spirit of religious intolerance. He only wanted an opportunity to demonstrate his piety by crushing out all opposition to the Catholic faith. This opportunity was not long in coming to him. His Protestant subjects were in no mood to submit to any encroachments on their rights, and considering themselves aggrieved, they pitched two government officials out of a high window. This was the beginning of rebellion and both sides marshaled their forces. In 1619, Ferdinand was elected emperor, and in that very same week the Bohemians renounced their allegiance to him and offered the crown of Bohemia to Frederick V, elector of the Palatinate. He was an evangelical Protestant, warmly attached to the Reformed faith as set forth in the Heidelberg Catechism. He was son-in-law of James I of England, having mar-

ried Elizabeth, the only daughter of that king. Frederick accepted the crown that was offered to him, counting no doubt on large assistance from Protestant Christendom in his efforts to make its possession permanent and secure. It did seem a great opportunity for the enemies of Rome. But unfortunately the Protestants of North Germany had been taught by Luther to hate the Calvinists more bitterly than they hated the papists; and James I had his hands full in the pious task of trying to make truculent Episcopalians out of the free-spirited Presbyterians of Scotland and to marry his son to the Spanish Infanta. Could the Lutherans of Saxony have laid aside their irrational prejudice against the "Sacramentarians," or could James I have been transformed into a Cromwell, Bohemia would have won her independence, the Catholic reaction in Austria would have been checked, and both Bohemia and Austria would have taken their place in the ranks of Protestant nations. Moreover Spain's ambition would have been curbed, and France would not have been permitted, under the sagacious leadership of Richelieu, to take advantage of the quarrels of her neighbors to mount to a dominant position in the affairs of Europe. But the great opportunity was lost. Frederick was left almost alone to battle for his crown, and the Catholic forces, led by an able general, gained an overwhelming victory at White Hill, near Prague, in 1620. The fortunes of war continued to go against the Protestants until Frederick was compelled to flee for his life and seek refuge in Holland. His hereditary possessions were given to Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, as a reward for his services in helping to overthrow the Protestant cause; and Frederick's newly-acquired kingdom of Bohemia was laid prostrate at the feet

of Ferdinand. This zealous Catholic now had a fair field in which to display his ardent piety. In 1621, twenty-five nobles were decapitated before the city gate of Prague; and, in the course of twelve months, 4,000 helpless prisoners were precipitated to their death in the silver mines of Kuttenberg. Thirty thousand burgher families were sent into exile, and the peasants, who as tillers of the soil could not be spared from the country without converting it into a waste wilderness, were subjected to every form of outrage and cruelty. The character of the persecution may be judged by the fact that the population was reduced from three millions to eight hundred thousands, and all visible signs of a Protestant Church were obliterated.

Edict of Toleration.—This was issued in 1781 by the emperor, Joseph II, an emperor whose name will ever be held in affectionate reverence by the Bohemians. On the repeal of the old oppressive laws, to the surprise of every one it was discovered that the seeds of evangelical faith had been growing in secret. In a short while fifty congregations of Protestant Christians were organized, pastors were obtained from the neighboring kingdom of Hungary, and prosperity began to dawn once again on the Reformed Church. This day of mercy came to an end all too soon. On the death of Joseph II, a ruler of different temper succeeded to the throne, and the old repressive measures were revived.

Equal Rights Granted in 1861.—It was not until 1861 that the pressure of despotism was lifted from the Bohemian Protestants. In that year their church was placed on the list of the "Recognized" communities. This means that it became a state institution along with many other churches. It has ever since that day been

protected in its social and civil rights. No one dares to interfere with its ministers, its people, or its worship. But Austria has gone to the other extreme, and her policy of protection is almost as destructive of ecclesiastical vitality, as her policy of oppression. Instead of permitting one body of Christians to usurp all rights and persecute other Christians, the government now protects each against all others to the extent of strictly forbidding all efforts at proselyting. No Protestant without violating the law, and incurring liability to severe penalty can ask a Roman Catholic to join his church. Never was there a more striking illustration of extremes meeting than in the policy of Austria toward the many bodies of Christians under her sway. She gives legal recognition to Catholics, Protestants, Greeks, Jews, Lutherans, Moravians, and Mohammedans, and then builds a legal wall around each that practically takes away all its liberty. The government "fixes for each pastor the bounds of his parish, and restricts him in his evangelistic efforts to the people of his own religious profession." It is evident that a church in this restrained position can have no normal life and expansion. The tendency, however, is to more liberal laws, and there is ground to hope that the Church which has survived centuries of fiery trial will soon be brought out into a large and wealthy place.

The Government of the Church.—This is Presbyterian in so far as it has autonomy. The courts are a session; a seniorate, or presbytery; superintendency, or synod; and a general synod. There are some peculiar features of polity in this Church. The most marked are in respect to the moderatorship of the courts. The moderator of the presbytery is elected for six years and during the term of office, he exercises extensive episcopal powers

over all the ministers and churches of the presbytery, visiting every church once in three years and inquiring into its affairs. The moderator of the superintendency, or provincial synod, is elected for life. He likewise has episcopal oversight of the churches and ministers in his province, and must make triennial visits to every parish.

Over the highest church court there is a yet higher civil court, called the Oberkirchenrath, which sustains a common relation to both the Reformed and the Lutheran churches. It reviews their proceedings, and judges whether the churches have conformed in all things to both the civil and the ecclesiastical laws. No action of the Church becomes final and authoritative until sanctioned by the emperor.

The Reformed Church is restless under this arrangement, and has through its highest court expressed its purpose to strive for a free and fully-developed Presbyterian polity.

It is hardly necessary to give a separate history of the church of Moravia. The two churches have had substantially the same history, and are now practically one. Together they number 650,000 adherents.

II. HUNGARY AND TRANSYLVANIA

These two countries, which for our purpose may be treated as one, constitute at present the eastern part of the empire of Austria-Hungary. They lie far toward the southeast end of Europe and mark the limit of the Reformation in that direction. They have an area of 108,258 square miles, and are rich in agricultural and mineral resources. Through the very heart of Hungary, for a distance of eight hundred miles, flows the Danube River, navigable for nearly this whole distance for large

vessels. This river, with its tributaries, drains a great valley of unusual fertility. Obviously all that is wanted to make Austria-Hungary one of the great countries of Europe, is a just and liberal government that will stimulate and encourage the development of its people and their latent riches. It is occupied by three principal races, Germans, Slavons and Magyars.

Beginning of the Hungarian Church.—The Reformation of the sixteenth century was not long in making itself felt in Hungary. It is estimated that between the years 1522, and 1560, five hundred students attended the University of Wittenberg. These, on returning to their native country, became teachers and preachers, and scattered the "good seed of the kingdom" far and wide. The seed quickly sprang up and yielded a rich harvest, so that by the year 1545, the disciples of the new doctrine were ready for organization. In that year a synod was held at Erdöd which adopted the Augsburg Confession, thus giving to Lutheranism a fixed and abiding form.

Introduction of Calvinism.—The most influential of the early preachers was Mathias Dévay, who had lived for some years in Luther's family, and had been a zealous propagator of Luther's views on his return to Hungary. In 1537, he went to Basel for the purpose of publishing a controversial work which he had written. There he became acquainted with the Swiss views of the sacraments, was converted to them, and preached them afterwards with great effect to his fellow-countrymen. Luther, on hearing of it, was very indignant, and wrote to his brethren in Hungary, strongly condemning the teachings of his former friend and follower. But it was to no purpose. While the Germans generally adhered to Luther, the native Hungarians, or Magyars, showed a decided

preference for the other views. In 1558, Peter Milius, having graduated at Wittenberg, took charge of the influential church of Debreczin. Very soon he changed from Luther to Calvin, and became the most zealous and efficient leader of the evangelical movement, and was honored by succeeding generations with the title of the "Hungarian Calvin."

Triumph of Calvinism in Transylvania.—In 1562, Calvin's catechism was introduced into the schools of Transylvania. This province had been separated from Hungary proper, and was ruled by a native dynasty. The controversy over the two rival creeds was carried on with increasing warmth, until finally a general national synod was convoked April 9th, 1564, the Saxon Lutherans and the Magyar Calvinists coming together by the king's permission. All attempts to make peace between the two parties failed. Hence the succeeding state diet, in the same year, sanctioned officially and forever the separation into two distinct denominations. Thus the Reformed Church of Hungary in the province of Transylvania was born only a few months after the death of the great Calvin, from whose fertile mind it had received the mold both of doctrine and polity into which it was cast.

In this same year some of the Calvinistic preachers and professors wrote to the theologians of Heidelberg for advice and for arguments to aid them in their controversy with the Lutherans. The professors of Heidelberg University sent with their reply a copy of the Heidelberg Catechism, which had made its advent into the world only the year before. "Thus came into Hungary the Palatine Catechism which afterwards conquered an unheard-of popularity in all parts of Hungary, and be-

came, by and by, through a common adherence, one of the most notable symbolical books in that country."

At the Synod of Debreczin in 1567, the organization of the Reformed Church was completed by the adoption of the second Helvetic Confession, and seventy-four articles of Church Order and Discipline.

In Hungary Proper.—It was exceedingly fortunate for the Protestant Church that Transylvania became separated from the remaining part of Hungary. The native princes who governed it, were unusually tolerant for that age, and granted complete religious liberty to all sects, Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists and Unitarians. Truth being left free to fight its own battles, the Reformed Church made rapid progress for many years. Hungary proper was ruled by the house of Hapsburg, noted throughout its long history for a spirit of intolerance and ardent devotion to the Catholic Church. From the middle of the sixteenth century, the rulers of this house were under the influence of the Jesuits; and it goes without saying that they repressed Protestantism to the extent of their power. They could not, however, do more than throw hindrances in its way and retard its growth. By the end of the century, the Protestants were in the majority. Rudolph II who came to the throne in 1576, had been educated by the Jesuits at the court of Spain, and displayed the intolerance that might have been expected. Having conquered Transylvania, he attempted to repress the Protestants by violent persecution. Whereupon, they rose in rebellion under Stephen Botskai and forced Rudolph, in the peace of Vienna in 1606, to grant full religious liberty. But owing to the perpetual contentions between the different sects of Protestants, and the perpetual intrigues of the ever-industrious Jesuits,

the Catholics regained absolute control. During the persecutions, beginning with Ferdinand II in the second quarter of the seventeenth century and continuing with greater or less degrees of violence for more than a hundred years, Protestantism declined in numbers at least one half.

Edict of Toleration in 1781.—The edict issued by Joseph II, which has already been referred to as giving relief to the Bohemian Protestants, did a like beneficent service to the Protestants of Hungary. This good emperor recognized the rights of conscience, granted the privileges of citizenship to all denominations of Christians, suppressed many convents, and greatly abridged the power of the Pope and the Romish clergy. But his reign was short, and his successor repealed many of his tolerant laws, and gradually Austria settled back into her old status of subjection to Rome and the Jesuits. It is true that violent persecution on an extended scale came permanently to an end, but in many ways Protestantism has had its energies stifled and its growth dwarfed.

Present Condition.—The population of Hungary, including Transylvania, is a little over 15,000,000. Only 3,400,000 are Protestants. The Reformed Church has 2,055 congregations and 2,794,350 adherents.

It was not until 1881 that the five superintendencies, into which the Church is divided, came together in a national synod, and thus gave legal and visible form to their unity. At the first meeting of this national synod, a revised constitution was adopted and a relief society organized. The form of government is essentially Presbyterian, but with certain interesting modifications. These can best be given in the words of one of its own members: "Its home affairs and schools are governed

by its own laws. The king of Hungary has his *ius supremum inspectionis*, that is, he has the right to send a representative to the General Synod, and the laws which are made by the synod must be submitted to him for his sanction. Without this the laws would be worthless, but with this the laws of the synod are of the same value as the laws of the state. According to these laws, the Reformed Church is organized into congregations, classes and synods. The affairs of the congregation are governed by the general meeting of the church members and the session. The actions of the general meeting are (1) election of ministers ; (2) election of session and curator ; (3) the oversight of the financial affairs of the congregation. All other affairs of the congregation are governed by the session, whose members are the ministers, the curator, teachers, and where the congregation has a college, one delegate from the professors. The congregations elect members to the session according to their numerical strength." It may be well to explain that all the congregations in a city are under the jurisdiction of one session. In the city of Debreczin, for example, where there are 40,000 members belonging to the Reformed Church, there are five pastors and one hundred and eighty elders, composing the session. The elders are elected for a term of twelve years. "Several congregations form a classis. The presidents of the classis are the subdeacon, and the curator of the classis, who is a layman. These are elected for life, and both preside at the meetings. Several classes form a synod. The presidents of the synod are the bishop and the chief curator. The highest authority of the Reformed Church is the conventus, or assembly. It is composed of the bishops, and chief curators and twenty-eight representatives of the five

synods." It will be noticed that there is in this government an Episcopalian element, even the name bishop being retained. These bishops, however, are such simply as a matter of expediency. While they are intrusted with the power of general oversight they are elected to office by the people, and, along with the other ministers, are amenable to the courts of the church.

The Hungarian Church, like all other "recognized" communities in Austria, is really a state institution. Its pastors are supported by state aid, and its laws are only valid after receiving the emperor's sanction. It is under legal protection, and likewise under very strict legal restraint. No outsider can touch it by way of proselyting, and it can touch no outsider. Manifestly while this close supervision lasts, the church can grow only so fast as its own children increase.

Church Education.—Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of the Hungarian Reformed Church is its self-sacrificing zeal in behalf of denominational education. Although its members are taxed to support state schools, the church supports a complete system of schools of its own, including primary, academic, collegiate and even professional schools. The reason for this is that the Catholics have such a dominating influence in the government as to make the schools practically Catholic; and the Reformed Church is persuaded that the only way to hold their children to their creed is to educate them in their own schools. At their own expense, therefore, they sustain a staff of 5,000 teachers, under whose tuition are gathered 300,000 children. In these schools, not only is Protestant history taught, but also the Heidelberg Catechism. The result is, according to one of their recent writers, "that neither ritualistic tendency, nor the giving

up of the Reformed religion occurs but exceptionally and very rarely in Hungary." Here then is the future hope of this church, in the well-rewarded pains which she takes to "train up the child in the way it should go." Even now a brighter day seems to be dawning over Austria. It is reported that within the last few years as many as thirty thousand have been converted from Romanism to Protestantism. The laws are becoming more liberal, and there is ground to hope that soon "the word of God will have free course," with the result that the churches built on that word will enter on an era of unexampled prosperity.

III. OTHER CONTINENTAL CHURCHES

1. **The Waldenses.**—From the days of Peter Waldo, who lived in the twelfth century, a heroic band of Christians, taking their name from him, have made their home in the Piedmontese Alps. It would be tedious to relate the many persecutions which have imparted a tragic interest to their history. Suffice it to say that despite crusades and massacres, torturings and burnings, in which thousands nobly yielded up their lives on the altar of their faith, they never ceased to maintain an inflexible opposition to the abuses of the papacy, and to bear witness to a pure gospel and a scriptural worship.

After the days of Huss, they derived help from the Bohemian brethren in purging out some of the Romish leaven that still marred their doctrines; and when the Reformation of the sixteenth century burst forth, they received further aid in perfecting their views through intercourse with the reformers in Basel and Strassburg. Farel, the strong, rugged and eloquent pioneer of the Reformation in France, attended a meeting of the Wal-

densian Synod at Chanforan in 1532. At this time they declared their full agreement with the teachings of Luther and Calvin. As illustrating their devotion to the word of God, in the light of which they had been earnestly striving to walk for so many centuries, it may be mentioned that at this same synod, out of their deep poverty, they subscribed 1,500 gold crowns for the publication of a folio edition of the Old and New Testament, a work which they intrusted to Olivetan, a near kinsman of Calvin.

Persecutions.—Having identified themselves with the Reformation, they became the victims of fresh and horrible persecutions. In 1545, Francis I, whose subjects they were, gave them over to the will of their papal enemies. These raided their peaceful villages, utterly destroying twenty-two of them, and putting to death the inhabitants, men, women and children, by methods as cruel as malice could devise. A remnant, however, was left to pass through similar scenes later. The days of fiery trial were not over until about the middle of the nineteenth century, when northern Italy threw off the papal yoke, and opened that part of the country to Protestant evangelism.

Returning Good for Evil.—The Waldenses at once rose to the occasion, and began to lengthen their cords, and strengthen their stakes. In 1848, they founded a congregation in Florence, and made that the center of an active propagandism, and the next year a mission was begun in Turin.

When in 1860 the whole of Italy was opened to the preaching of the gospel, a special committee was formed for the purpose of pushing their mission work among their Catholic fellow-countrymen. Since 1883 this com-

mittee has had its headquarters in the city of Rome, thus "bearding the lion in his den." Gradually it has extended its operations until now it has a number of schools, mission stations, and congregations under its care. The sympathy, which is properly felt throughout Protestant Christendom for the Waldenses, secures aid from various sources to assist in sustaining this work. What a noble revenge these humble Christians are taking on their once haughty oppressors! The beautiful and familiar prayer of Milton may yet be answered. It is meet that it be kept familiar.

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountain cold;
E'en them, who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshiped stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
An hundredfold, who having learnt thy way
Early may fly the Babylonian woe!

The only court of the Waldensian Church is its general synod, which meets in Torre Pellice always on the first Monday of September, each year. It consists of first, the eighteen pastors of the valleys, with two lay delegates from each congregation who may, or may not be elders; second, the professors of theology at Florence; third, the ordained ministers working under the committee of evangelization; fourth, lay delegates from the congregations in the mission field, at the rate of one

delegate for every four hundred communicants. This is not a Presbyterian court in the strictest sense, but it may easily develop into one. The mission stations are grouped into five conference districts, or presbyteries, meeting generally once a year, to consider in an unofficial way the interests of the work. It is expected that these will grow into regular presbyteries.

The official standard of doctrine in the Waldensian Church is the confession of La Rochelle, which is the Gallic confession, drafted by Calvin, adopted by the first synod of the Reformed Church of France which met at Paris in 1559, and was afterwards revised and readopted by the Synod of Rochelle, 1571.

2. **Churches of Belgium.**—When the Dutch Republic was founded by the Union of Utrecht in 1579, only the seven Northern Provinces of the Netherlands entered the union. The other ten provinces, partly by the skillful diplomacy, and partly by the military genius of Alexander of Parma, were brought permanently under the power of Rome. Philip II did not relax his power to weed out all heretics from these recovered lands. He consented to remove the Spanish troops from the country on condition that the Romish worship should be everywhere restored, and Protestantism abolished. By an unusual stretch of leniency he gave the Protestants two years in which to return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, or leave the country. The one thing in reference to which he was uncompromising was that these provinces must be absolutely free from the contamination of heresy. From that day till this, Belgium has been under Catholic rule, and not until 1781 was there permitted the slightest dissent from the papal creed. There was little need, however, of religious

liberty, inasmuch as the Protestant population at that time, including officials and merchants from Holland, numbered only three thousand souls. These were scattered over the country as sheep, having no shepherd. In the year 1839, as many as could be brought together, were organized into seven churches. Pastors were secured from outside sources. These seven churches have increased to thirteen, with a total membership of two thousand and eight hundred. The official name of the Church is THE UNION OF EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN BELGIUM. It has adopted no creed, but accepts the Bible alone as the bond of union. The thirteen congregations are united in a general synod which meets annually, and carries on the general work of the Church through the agency of three permanent executive committees.

The Belgium Missionary Christian Church.—In 1834, Bible societies were organized in Brussels, and a number of other towns, in connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society. The object was to supply the very great destitution of that land that has lain all these centuries under the dominion of that Church which regards the Bible as a dangerous book to put into the hands of the common people. The colporteurs, in carrying on the work of these societies, have found in many places that the good seed has fallen into good ground. A spirit of inquiry has been awakened, and under the blessing of God, considerable numbers have been led to renounce their connection with the Romish Church. In view of this state of affairs in 1837, “the Evangelical Society” was formed to work in harmony with these Bible Societies, to look after these new converts, and to provide them with the ordinances of the

gospel. By 1849 the work had grown to such dimensions that it was deemed wise to organize the scattered believers into churches. This was done, and these new organizations met together by their representatives and adopted as their standard of doctrine the Belgic Confession of Faith, a confession prepared in 1559 by Guy de Brés, and adopted by their brethren in Holland in the Reformation period. This Church now numbers thirty-two congregations and 1,760 communicants.

3. **Spanish Christian Church.**—The intellectual condition of Spain is sufficiently indicated by the fact that out of a population of 17,500,000, there are 12,000,000 who can neither read nor write. The Catholic Church which for centuries prevented the free circulation of the Scriptures succeeded in keeping the people so totally illiterate that it was hardly worth while to forbid their having the Bible. Now that the way is open to scatter the word of God, it is practically a sealed book to the vast majority of the people after it comes into their hands. Nevertheless, the Protestants of other countries began the work of Bible distribution in Spain shortly after the beginning of the nineteenth century, trusting that when once the book was in the homes of the people, they would find some means of becoming acquainted with its message. There is evidence that their expectations have not been wholly disappointed. In 1868, a revolution in the government drove Queen Isabella from the throne. A regency was established which proclaimed religious liberty. At once the Protestant churches of Great Britain and the continent began an active campaign of evangelism. It gave great promise; crowds attended the services; church buildings were erected; schools were opened; and many congregations

were organized. This bright promise was disappointing. The movement was carried forward largely by political influences. The crowds were attracted to the Protestant services by their novelty, and many were led to attach themselves to the evangelical churches merely by way of manifesting their new-born liberty. In 1874 the Bourbon dynasty was restored, and with it the dominancy of the Catholic Church. Difficulties were thrown in the way of Protestant propagandism, and in the day of trial, it was demonstrated that much of the seed that gave such speedy signs of life had fallen on stony ground. The quick and promising growth withered away. However, there have been some permanent victories won. The results up to the present are a church of thirteen congregations, fourteen ministers and three hundred communicants. These are distributed in the two presbyteries of Andalusia and Madrid.

4. Scattered Groups.—Throughout the different states of the German Empire, in Austria, and in Russia, there are groups of churches, adhering to Calvinistic standards of doctrine; and organized, as far as organization is practicable to them, on Presbyterian principles. In the aggregate, they number about 71,000. Unfortunately they are so situated, being hedged in by unfriendly influences, and closely restricted by government supervision, that it is almost impossible for them to grow into large dimensions.

CHAPTER VI

SCOTLAND

Condition of the Country.—Scotland was slow in yielding to the authority of the Church of Rome. Having received in the sixth century a comparatively pure faith through the labors of missionaries from Ireland, it was only after a prolonged and strenuous struggle that she permitted the agents of Rome to substitute for this faith one less pure, and to fasten on the country a polity of which the Pope was the acknowledged head. But once having accepted the rule of the papacy, Scotland tested its virtues to the utmost, with the result that at the opening of the sixteenth century, there was no country in the limits of Christendom that more needed reforming. The light of the new learning, which long since had shed its cheerful morning beams over southern and central Europe had not penetrated to any appreciable extent the darkness that had hung in dense folds for weary centuries over this rugged land. Few even of the nobles could read, their manners were rough, and their dispositions were harsh and cruel. There was no central government strong enough to keep in subjection their turbulent spirits. Feuds between the different clans, perpetuated from generation to generation, made lawlessness and violence a chronic condition. The clergy rivaled the gentry in ignorance, coarseness and immorality.

Owing to the backward state of learning, the Reformation was slow in finding its way to Scotland. Ger-

many and England had felt the thrill of the new life long before any decided impression was noticeable there. But the Scotch were a sturdy stock, and it only needed the light of knowledge, and the stimulus of new motives to work a speedy and marvelous transformation. In no land did the new doctrines take deeper root, or produce a more bountiful and blessed harvest.

Beginning of the Reformation.—The first voice raised effectively against the established order was that of Patrick Hamilton. He was of a noble family, studied abroad in the University of Paris, and elsewhere, was unusually proficient in languages and philosophy, held intercourse with Erasmus, came into contact with some of the reformers, and returned to his native land with a wide intellectual horizon and a heart in love with the truth. Soon he had the opportunity, which he embraced, of commending the teachings of the New Testament to his countrymen. This excited the alarm of the Church authorities, and on the advice of his friends, Hamilton went back to the continent. On this visit he had further intercourse with the reformers, meeting Frith and Tynsdale and Lambert at Marburg. His desire to preach Christ in his native land grew until he resolved to carry it into effect at the risk of life. Returning in the autumn of 1527, he preached for a short while with great success, winning to the faith a number of his kinsmen. He also won the heart and hand of a noble young lady whom he married, only to leave a widow in a few brief weeks. In February of 1528, he was arrested, tried and found guilty of teaching that "a man is not justified by works, but by faith; that faith, hope and charity are so linked together that if a man have one, he will have all; and that good works maketh not a good man, but a good man doeth

good works"; and being further pressed, he affirmed that "it is not lawful to worship images, nor to pray to saints; and that it is lawful for all men that have souls to read the word of God." He was burned at the stake on the same day that he was tried and convicted. But even this radical and summary method of procedure proved not altogether effective, for "the reek of Patrick Hamilton infected all on whom it did blow." It was eighteen years, however, before the Romish Church was put to the necessity of burning another distinguished heretic. This time it was George Wishart, described by one of his pupils, as "a man modest, temperate, courteous, lowly, lovely, fearing God, hating covetousness, his learning no less sufficient than his desire to do good." Cardinal Beaton, the same dignitary who had brought Hamilton to the stake, presided at the trial of Wishart, and from an upper window of the castle of St. Andrews, feasted his eyes on the dying agonies of the "lowly and lovely" young man.

John Knox.—It would have been a master stroke for his side of the controversy, if Cardinal Beaton had been a little more prompt in putting George Wishart out of the way. As it was, he neglected this important matter until Wishart had been used of God to convert John Knox, and then it was too late to burn him. He has done that which all the cardinals cannot undo, and which will bring everlasting disaster on the cause they represent.

Knox was born in 1505, and was educated at the University of St. Andrews for the priesthood. He took orders about 1530, and soon after that began to feel the influence of the evangelical doctrines with which he came in contact from time to time. It was not, however, until he met with Wishart in 1544 that he broke with the

Church of Rome. He attached himself very closely to Wishart, attending him from place to place, and after a fanatical priest had tried to assassinate Wishart, Knox carried a sword, with which to defend him. After Wishart's death he exchanged this sword for the sword of the Spirit, and found in this a weapon which he could wield with such power as to appall the hearts of his stoutest adversaries. It was not long before serious dangers began to threaten him. In 1547, he took refuge in the Castle of St. Andrews along with those Protestants who had assassinated Cardinal Beaton, thus showing that he had no tears to shed over that deed. The castle was besieged by the Regent of Scotland, aided by a French fleet. When at length it was forced to surrender, Knox was carried a prisoner to France, and made to row in the galleys, chained to an oar. He served on this ancient form of the "chain gang" for nineteen months. According to the testimony of one of his fellow-prisoners, Sir James Balfour, he uttered, on one occasion during this confinement, a memorable prophecy. While they lay on the coast between St. Andrews and Dundee, Sir James, pointing to the spires of St. Andrews asked him if he knew the place. "Yes, I know it well," was the reply, "for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life, till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place."

Sojourn in England.—Released from the galleys in 1549, Knox went to England, where the Reformation under the reign of Edward VI was making unrestrained and prosperous headway. The king showed great respect to Knox, appointing him one of his chaplains.

He was likewise greatly honored by the leading reformers, who consulted him about the prayer book and offered him a bishopric which he declined. He remained, however, for some years in England, preaching at Berwick and New Castle.

An Exile on the Continent.—When Mary came to the throne, it soon became manifest that there was no longer any room for Knox in that kingdom. He went to the continent, and after wandering around somewhat aimlessly for a time, he made his way to Geneva. There he met a congenial spirit in the illustrious Calvin, and soon their acquaintance ripened into a close friendship which lasted till Calvin's death in 1564. At the end of eighteen months Knox returned to Scotland. Just at that juncture the Regent, Mary of Guise, was permitting the persecuted saints of England to find a refuge in her kingdom, and winking at their quiet dissemination of evangelical doctrines. This was not because she hated heretics less, but because she hated "Bloody Mary" and her newly-acquired husband, Philip II of Spain, more. Knox was encouraged to believe that he could safely venture back to his native land. On his arrival he was rejoiced to find many ears that were eager for the truth. Writing from Edinburgh to his mother-in-law, who was in Berwick, he says: "If I had not seen it with my eyes in my own country, I could not have believed it. I praised God, when I was with you, perceiving that in the midst of Sodom, God had more Lots than one, and more faithful daughters than two. But the fervency here doth far exceed all others that I have seen. And therefore ye shall patiently bear, although I spend here yet some days; for depart I cannot, until such time as God quench their thirst a little." He remained in Scotland hardly a year,

but he preached almost daily, mostly in private houses, traveling from place to place, thus making the greatest possible use of the brief time. The results of this visit were of incalculable benefit to the cause of reform. He strengthened the timid, confirmed the wavering, and won over many distinguished noblemen. But thinking the time was not ripe yet for a decisive conflict he accepted a call from an English congregation at Geneva to become their pastor, and went back to that city. Nevertheless the revolution of thought went on, and in 1557 a number of nobles and gentlemen at Edinburgh signed a covenant, engaging to "renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitions, abominations and idolatry thereof; and to defend the whole congregation of Christ and every member thereof." This was the beginning of the crystallization of the Reformed movement, and was the first of the covenants by which the Protestants from time to time bound themselves in subsequent crises of their history.

Permanent Return of Knox.—The current of events was setting ever more rapidly and strongly toward reformation.

It was time now for Knox to be back among his countrymen to add the weight of his great influence and to give direction to the trend of affairs. Receiving an urgent invitation from numerous adherents of the new faith, he returned to Scotland in the early part of the year 1559. He lifted up his voice in trumpet tones, calling the people to separation from the iniquities of Rome, and to a strenuous conflict with her idolatry. He stirred the emotions of the populace to such a pitch as to result in many places in an iconoclastic crusade. Images were destroyed, and monasteries were

demolished. Passions grew more violent on both sides, and at length the Queen Regent resorted to arms to put down the turbulent reformers. The "Lords of the Congregation," as the leaders of the Protestant movement were called, met arms with arms. The Regent called in the aid of French troops; the reformers secured the assistance of the English. For about a year the country was in the throes of a civil war, but fortunately it was brought to a close with very little bloodshed. In June of 1560, the Regent died, and a treaty was concluded which involved the withdrawal of both the French and the English troops from the land and the placing of the government temporarily in the hands of a regency of noblemen.

Establishment of the Reformed Religion.—The Parliament met on the 1st day of August, 1560, and was in session for twenty-one days. It stuck the knife deep and performed some radical surgery. Not content with removing certain offensive excrescences from the old system, it proceeded to cut it up by the roots. It abolished the power of the Pope, repealed all the laws that gave validity to the papal hierarchy, and enacted the death penalty for the third offense of celebrating mass. It did not stop with merely negative and destructive legislation. It adopted a Confession of Faith, which, by its orders had been drafted by six Johns, the chiefest of whom was John Knox.

The First General Assembly.—This met on the 20th day of December, 1560, and was composed of forty members, only six of whom were ministers. Perhaps, the most important work of this assembly was the adoption of a Book of Discipline, which had been prepared previously under direction of the Privy Council, by the same Johns who had drafted the Confession of Faith. This

book defined what doctrine should be taught in the Church, what qualifications must be possessed by those who should be admitted to the ministry, how these should be settled in their charges, what other officers should be appointed in the Church, how the ministry should be supported, discipline administered, marriage regulated, and the sacraments dispensed.

Flexibility of the Church's Polity.—As might be expected, this book shows the effect of Knox's stay in Geneva, but it likewise shows that Knox had a mind of his own. He modified the Genevan discipline to suit the peculiar circumstances of Scotland. Instead of one city, here was a vast extent of territory to provide for. It was far from the disposition of Knox to sacrifice the needs of the people to the demands of a theory. In laying the foundations of the church organization, he proceeded on the supposition that the polity of the Church was for the people, not the people for the polity. Consequently he did not hesitate to mar the ideal system in deference to practical utility. The reason there were only six ministers in this first Assembly was because there were only thirteen in the whole kingdom. What could this little handful do toward meeting the wholesale and urgent demands? There was little material from which to augment their numbers. Provision was made, therefore, for the employment of unofficial readers, whose sole business, at the first, was to assemble the people and read to them the word of God. A much-needed function this was, seeing that few of the people could read this word for themselves. It was demanded of these readers that after becoming familiar with the teachings of scriptures they should add to reading exhortation; and it was further contemplated that while engaged in these exercises,

they should fit themselves for the office of the ministry and receive ordination. It was from the ranks of these that the ministry was to receive most of its first recruits.

Another temporary provision was the office of superintendent. Those holding this office were ordained ministers, to each of whom was assigned, in addition to the pastorate of a church, the oversight of a particular circuit. He was not to remain in his church more than three or four months at a time, and then he must visit throughout his circuit, examining the doctrine, life, diligence and behavior of ministers, readers, elders and deacons. The superintendents were to admonish, and to correct as best they could by their counsels whatever they should find out of order. But they were subject to the same discipline and jurisdiction as all the other ministers.

It is questionable whether all the Presbyterian churches since the days of Knox have been as wise in adapting their machinery to meet peculiar and urgent needs. It is to be feared that some of them have failed to "go up and possess the land," which by right of inheritance belonged to them because they were hampered by a polity too rigid and inflexible. Possibly they have too persistently refused to recognize in the practical administration of Church affairs that "half a loaf is better than no bread."

Mary Queen of Scots.—When James V died, he left an infant daughter, who had been educated in the court of France, had been married to Francis II, had reigned with him over the kingdom of France for two years, had then been left a widow, and now returned to Scotland on the 19th of August, 1561, "with a purpose fixed as the stars to trample down the Reformation." She was not yet twenty years of age, radiantly beautiful, cultured, clever,

vivacious, and with it all she was utterly unscrupulous. Froude gives an inventory of her qualities: "She had vigor, energy, tenacity of purpose, with perfect and never failing self-possession, and as the one indispensable foundation for the effective use of all other qualities, she had indomitable courage." With such an accumulation of rare gifts and accomplishments it is not to be wondered at that she threw a spell over all the courtiers who approached her. But she was half French by birth, and altogether French by rearing. When she fixed her purpose to trample down the Reformation, she was utterly incapable of measuring the magnitude of the task which she had set for herself. There were, indeed, some elements of strength still belonging to the old order of things, and if Mary had continued as she began, patient, conciliatory, and willing to leave matters largely under the direction of her brother, while she bided her time, she might have postponed the day of complete victory for Protestantism for some years to come. But Mary was her own worst enemy. She permitted her heart to run away with judgment and discretion. She made two of the most criminally reckless marriages that it was possible for her to make. The first was with her cousin, Lord Darnley, three years her junior, a weak, vain and profligate boy. After rendering himself odious to Mary by participating in the murder of her favorite, he was himself murdered in circumstances which cast serious suspicion on Mary. Three months thereafter she married the Earl of Bothwell, whom everybody believed to have been the principal agent in the brutal taking off of Darnley. Such an open outrage on all decency was too much for her subjects. They rose in arms, took her by constraint from her bloody husband, put her in prison

and forced her to abdicate her crown in favor of her infant son. She soon made her escape, rallied a respectable body of troops to her standard, was worsted in battle, fled to England, became a center of popish plots against the throne of Elizabeth and finally lost her beautiful and wayward head. Surely no such gifted woman ever descended from such lofty elevation down the declivity of sin and shameless folly to utter destruction so quickly as did Mary Queen of Scots. She ran her inglorious career in Scotland in the short space of six years.

Last Years and Death of John Knox.—From the meeting of the first Assembly in 1560, John Knox took the lead in shaping the policy of the Church in its conflict with the remaining forces of the papacy. He bore the brunt of the battle during the years that Queen Mary tried by the arts of intrigue, by cajolery, and by the use of all the means at her command to destroy the work of the reformers. She refused to ratify the acts of Parliament, establishing the Reformed religion; she won over to her side many powerful nobles; and she put out her full strength on Knox. She tried flattery; she tried tears, the most formidable weapon that a young, beautiful, and widowed queen could wield; she tried threats, and finally had him brought before the privy council to fasten on him the charge of treason. Through it all he bore himself with an inflexible front. His life was a perpetual scene of conflict, his last two years especially were filled with sorrow by the assassination of his illustrious friend, the Regent Murray, and by the alarming disorders that followed. Matters, however, had assumed a brighter face toward the cause for which he had fought and suffered before he sank to rest in November, 1572.

The "Convention of Leith."—In the year of Knox's

death a notable convention was held at Leith, called at the instance of some of the nobles for the purpose of securing for themselves the rich revenues of the former bishoprics. Before the Reformation, the bishops and archbishops had princely incomes from lands which attached to their offices. Their offices having been abolished, the question was, Who should enjoy the revenues? The first Book of Discipline provided that all revenues arising from the old ecclesiastical properties should be used for the support of the ministry, the schools, and the poor. To quote the somewhat irreverent language of Froude: "The gaunt and hungry nobles of Scotland, careless most of them of God or devil, had been eyeing the sleek and well-fed clergy of Rome like a pack of famished wolves." Now that these clergy had been ousted, "the gaunt and hungry nobles" were eager to pounce upon the spoil. Technically the revenues of the bishoprics could be collected only by bishops; but as the Reformed Church had no bishops no one could lawfully collect the revenues. This Assembly was called at Leith to appoint bishops, it being understood that their office was merely nominal. Influenced by Regent Morton, the assembly restored the old titles. The greedy nobles then proceeded to secure the appointment of creatures of their own, who were required to stipulate in advance to turn over the revenues of their office to those to whom they owed their appointment. Those who permitted themselves to be thus used were called "Tulchan Bishops"—tulchan being a stuffed calfskin set up by the side of a cow which had lost her calf to make her give down her milk. This term indicates that these bishops were universally derided, but their anomalous position was the cause, or occasion at least, of later trouble.

Andrew Melville.—In 1574 there entered into the struggles of the Church, a champion of religious liberty and of Presbyterian polity whose name is placed by many next on the roll of fame to that of Knox. Andrew Melville was born in 1545, educated at St. Andrews, studied in Paris two years, and then spent five years in Geneva, teaching in the Academy of Geneva, and studying theology under Theodore Beza, the distinguished successor of John Calvin. When he returned to Scotland in 1574, he found that trouble had already arisen, and worse trouble was threatened, through the machinations of the civil government to destroy the liberties of the Church by introducing under the shadowy forms of the tulchan bishops a thoroughgoing episcopacy. He entered into the defense of presbytery with great ardor, and by calling into requisition his consummate knowledge of Greek, a language which he spoke with fluency, he succeeded after a protracted struggle in winning a temporary victory. He demonstrated to the satisfaction of the assembly that in the New Testament, bishop and presbyter are merely two names for the same office; and the assembly, without a dissenting voice, abolished every remaining trace of episcopacy. In 1578, the second Book of Discipline, the authorship of which is ascribed to Melville, supplanted the book drafted by Knox and his associates. In this second book, the relation between Church and state is more clearly defined, the independence of the Church in spiritual things is affirmed, and the duties of the various officers of the Church are more accurately stated. It embodied the purest type of Presbyterianism which had yet been set forth in the formularies of any of the Reformed churches.

Renewal of the Conflict.—In the year 1578, James VI

took the reins of power from the hands of the Regent Morton, and nominally began to rule in his own name. He was but twelve years of age, and soon fell under the dominant influence of bad advisers. In the course of a few years, efforts were renewed to bring the Church under the power of the crown. The articles of Leith were revived, creating the tulchan bishops. One of the king's favorites was made Archbishop of Glasgow. The Church excommunicated him. The privy council pronounced the excommunication null and void. Melville thundered against these encroachments on the Church's liberties. He was charged with treason, and prudently retired across the border. The Parliament which met in 1584 passed the "Black Acts," by which the liberties of the Church were completely taken away, and the king and privy council were empowered to regulate ecclesiastical matters at their will. Soon Melville returned from exile and took up the gauge of battle again. He did not cease from the arduous conflict until in 1592, Parliament passed an act ratifying the form of government as then administered by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries and kirk-sessions.

The Vascillating Policy of the King.—If the slightest faith could have been put in the character of the king there would have been no further trouble. He made loud protestations of admiration for the Church, and loyalty to it. In 1590, he married a Danish princess. During the honeymoon, he visited the General Assembly, and made a speech that delighted the hearts of the brethren. He praised God "that he was born in such a time, as the time of the light of the gospel, and to be king in the sincerest kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva keepeth Pasche and Yule (Easter and Christmas).

What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbor kirk of England, it is an ill-said mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you my good people, ministers, doctors, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and I forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown shall maintain the same against all deadly." There was never a more propitious moment for James to have been translated than that. Unfortunately it could not be, and two kingdoms were none the better off because it could not be. It was not long before he was plotting against the "sincerest kirk in the world," and trying to take away all liberty of action from its courts, and all liberty of speech from its ministers. He was filled with a conceit of the divine right of kings, and that included the denial of all rights to his subjects. He provoked the brave Melville into giving him some wholesome doctrine on the subject of Church and state. "I must tell you," said he, "that there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland; there is King James, the head of the commonwealth; and there is King Jesus, the head of the Church, whose subject James VI is, and of whose kingdom, he is not a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member. We will yield to you your place, and give you all due obedience; but again I say you are not the head of the Church." Good as was this doctrine, James did not relish it, and continued his efforts to get control of the Church until he succeeded in having three bishops appointed, with seats in Parliament as spiritual lords. He was greatly stimulated in his purpose to have obsequious bishops through whom he could manage the Church by the example and success of his cousin over in the adjoining kingdom. He saw how beautifully the scheme

worked in England, how Elizabeth as head of the Church, and with the power of making bishops in her own hand was able to regulate everything from the standard of doctrine down to the "bib and tuck" to be worn by the parish priest.

James I of England.—In 1603 James VI of Scotland succeeded Elizabeth as James I of England. The leading Puritans of England, who had long grieved that the royal head of the Church seemed to exercise so much more authority than the divine Head, rejoiced in the coming of the Scotch Presbyterian. They met him with a petition signed by nearly a thousand names, praying for a little more liberty to obey God on the ordering of the worship of his house. James appointed a conference, to which he invited nine bishops, seven deans and two other clergymen to meet four Puritans, apparently thinking the two parties would thus be equally matched. They were to discuss matters in dispute between them, and he was to act as judge. This was a delightful change from his previous position. It did not take the king long to see that the bishops were on his side. In fact, he saw this long before he left Scotland. The conference was a mere pretense, a farce; but it furnished the occasion for James to declare himself. This he did in very emphatic terms, accusing the Puritans of a purpose to bring in a Scotch presbytery, "which," said he, "agreeth with monarchy as God with the devil." The bishops were much delighted, crying out, "A Daniel come to judgment," and gave it as their opinion that "not since the days of Solomon had so wise a king sat on a throne." James brought the conference to a close by telling his Puritan subjects that he would make them

conform to the prayer book, or "harry them out of the kingdom."

This was practically a notification to his Scotch people that he would use whatever advantage his new position gave him in carrying out the purpose already inaugurated to make the "sincerest kirk in the world," the facsimile of the most subservient church in the world. It was not long before he had his three Scotch bishops brought down to London, and linked on to the chain of apostolic succession, by a regular *bona fide* Episcopal consecration, and sent them back with the precious deposit of the grace of orders in their hands to propagate the succession in his native land.

James Visits Scotland.—In the year 1617, the king, to use his own expression "indulged his natural and salmon-like affection for the place of his breeding." It is altogether probable that affection had less to do with it than kingcraft. He had certain schemes on foot which he could forward more effectively by being on the ground. He had an assembly called to meet at Perth. He has been accused of using many crooked methods to secure such an assembly as he could control. It is especially charged that he used bribery in the delicate way of paying the expenses of the members. In this and other ways he spent some £300,000 to have the Scotch Church provided with bishops. The assembly at Perth ordained in accordance with the king's wishes, that the Lord's Supper should be received kneeling, that it might be administered in private, that baptism might also be administered in private, that children should be confirmed, and that certain days, as Christmas and Easter should be observed as holy days. These articles were known as the "Five Articles of Perth" and strenuous efforts were

made to have them recognized in the worship of the Church. To this end, Parliament demanded it, the king threatened, and the Court of High Commissions persecuted; still the obstinate people continued to worship, for the most part, as they had done before the king "indulged his natural and salmon-like affection for his place of breeding." But by one means and another James had succeeded in putting quite an Episcopal face upon the "sincerest kirk in the world."

Charles I and His Advisers.—In 1625, James VI died, and was succeeded by his son, Charles I. He was in some respects an improvement on his father. "The face of the court," writes Mrs. Hutchinson, "was much changed, for King Charles was temperate, chaste and serious; so that the fools and bawds, mimics and catanities of the former court, grew out of fashion; and the nobility and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debaucheries, yet so revered the king as to retire into corners to practice them." This sounds well, and prepares us to hope for good things from the new king; but the same writer feels constrained to add, "he was a prince that had nothing of faith or truth, justice or generosity in him." A part of the legacy which his father left him was a book bearing the title, "Basilicon Doron." In this book Charles was taught that "the office of a king is of a mixed kind, civil and ecclesiastical, and that a principal part of his function consists in ruling the Church." Charles very cordially embraced this doctrine; and associated with himself as chief advisers in carrying it into effect, Charles Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and William Laud, Bishop of London, and after 1633, Archbishop of Canterbury. Wentworth made it his business to make the king independent of Parliament, and Laud

exercised himself to secure for the king complete control of the church.

The Service Book for Scotland.—In reference to the Church of Scotland, they took up the work just where James left it off, but they proceeded with much less caution and much greater rapidity—this for the reason that they did not know any better. Laud prepared a Service Book for the use of the Scotch Church, making it a little more popish in its cast than the English prayer book. The king appointed Easter Sunday 1637 for its introduction. So far were the Scotch Presbyterians from showing gratitude for these royal attentions, that they frightened the king's agents, and they let Easter pass without trying to introduce the new liturgy. The king then set the 23d of July, and put his foot down firmly, demanding that there should be no further delay. A great congregation was gathered on the appointed day in St. Giles Church, Edinburgh. The surface was calm, but volcanic fires were burning beneath. The dean of the Cathedral began to read, but he had not proceeded far, when Janet Geddes—a name to be remembered—rising from the stool on which she was seated near the pulpit, picked up the stool and hurled it at the dean's head, with the exclamation: "Fause loon, dost thou say mass at my lug!" Others followed the example of the irate dame, and for awhile missiles of all kinds, especially little clasp Bibles, flew toward the unhappy dean's head thick and fast. He took himself out of the way as quickly as possible. The bishop tried to quiet the turbulent crowd, but they had no reverence even for a successor of the apostles. So far from it, they shouted, "A Pope, a Pope, down with him!" and began to suit the action to the words, when the bishop prudently followed in the foot-

steps of the dean. The king and his archbishop had gone too far. The patience of his people was at length exhausted, and their long-restrained aversion to episcopacy vented itself with greater freedom than tenderness.

Renewing the National Covenant.—When Charles heard what had taken place on the 23d of July in St. Giles Church, he raved quite a good deal, but his raving did not mend matters. The Scotts were terribly in earnest. The privy council appointed representatives from the different classes of citizens to negotiate with the king. They petitioned him very humbly and very earnestly to reconsider, and not try further to force the Service Book on them. He turned a totally deaf ear to their petitions and grew more determined. Then the Scotts did one of the most memorable things in all the stirring history of those times. They met together in great numbers, nobles, gentry, ministers and peasants, in old Greyfriar's churchyard, on the 1st day of March, 1638, and renewed the National Covenant. This covenant was drawn up in 1580, and at that time had been signed by King James, along with his loyal subjects. By this act they bound themselves to defend the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Scotland. The king proved utterly false to his oath, and taught his son to seek the overthrow of the Church which he had sworn to defend. It is evident that while the long-suffering people had permitted the king to mar in no small measure their beloved church, they had not changed their minds. They were at heart still true to the faith of their fathers, and with tears of joy they affixed their names to the old covenant. What was done in Edinburgh on that 1st of March was soon known throughout the land, and everywhere, with like demonstrations of joy, the covenant was renewed.

Church Restored to Pure Presbyterianism.—The king had no force at hand to compel his refractory subjects to obey his will, and so he reluctantly consented to the calling of a general assembly, and to the meeting of Parliament, “for settling and confirming peace in Church and state.” The assembly met at Glasgow on the 21st of November, 1638. The king’s commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton, was present to act in the king’s name, and to see that the assembly took no radical step. Alexander Henderson was elected moderator. With courtly grace, but with imperturbable courage, he parried all the efforts of the royal commissioner to control the proceedings of the body. Under his skillful and determined leadership, the assembly set to work to wipe out every vestige of Episcopacy, and to restore the church to the pure type of Presbyterianism into which it had been molded by the hand of Andrew Melville. They wrought faithfully, and at the end of one month, they had deposed all the bishops in Scotland, and excommunicated eight of them; they had nullified the acts of all the assemblies, held from 1606 to 1618, by which prelacy had been introduced, and declared all the innovations made by them illegal; they had condemned the Five Articles of Perth, the canons, liturgy, and book of ordination and the High Commission. Having finished the business of the assembly, Henderson said in dissolving it: “We have now cast down the walls of Jericho. Let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite.”

Attempt at Coercion.—The king’s temper was not sweetened by these proceedings, and he at once prepared for war. The Scots, hearing of this, did the same. When the king reached the borders of Scotland, he found an army confronting him, marshaled under a

blue banner, bearing the significant words, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." He deemed discretion the better part of valor, and retired without risking a battle. He called together his Parliament, the first that had met in eleven years, and asked for money to increase his force. His Parliament was more concerned about the king's bad behavior at home than about the bad behavior of the Scots, and consequently replied to the king's request for money, by asking a redress of grievances. On this Charles indignantly prorogued Parliament, and called on the English bishops for help. Having preached the divine right of kings and the duty of passive obedience, they put in practice their doctrine by helping the king to the full limit of their purses. Having recruited his forces he marched North again. The Scots did not trouble him to cover the whole distance but with generous consideration started to meet him half way. Charles reconsidered and declined the meeting. Once more he summoned his Parliament to ask their help. This Parliament met in 1640, and is known as the "Long Parliament." Before it adjourned the monarchy, the monarch, his chief advisers, Wentworth and Laud, and the Established Church of England had all been swept away.

The Civil War.—Charles dropped his quarrel with the Scotch, and entered on a more serious one with his Parliament. War between them was declared in 1642, and then both sides sought the aid of the Scots. The sympathy of these was, as a matter of course, with the Parliament, for that was the side, sanctified by the sacred cause of liberty. At the same time they were very reluctant to lift the hand of revolt against the dynasty, which they themselves had given to England. They de-

cided, finally, to cast their lot with the Parliament provided Parliament would unite with them in a Solemn League and Covenant, in which both parties would bind themselves "to endeavor the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best Reformed churches; and shall endeavor to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Government, Directory of Worship and Catechising; that we and our posterity after us may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us." This covenant further bound them "to endeavor the extirpation of all popery and prelacy," and to attempt several other things. But the interests of religion were placed by the Scotch in the first place, and it was clearly manifest that while patriotism was not absent, the motive which overcame their scruples about taking arms against their king was their concern for the kingdom of Christ.

The Westminster Assembly.—Before the actual beginning of hostilities between the Parliament and the king, the Parliament had issued a call for the assembling of a body of learned and godly divines to advise with them in reference to reforming the Church. The king refused to sign the call, but in defiance of his will, the Assembly met in Westminster Abbey on the 1st day of July, 1643. When the treaty was concluded between the Parliament and the Scots, the Solemn League and Covenant was sworn to and signed on the same day by

both the Parliament and the Westminster Assembly of Divines. One result of this, previously agreed on, was that the Church of Scotland sent commissioners to sit in the Assembly at Westminster. These commissioners exerted an influence over the proceedings of the assembly altogether out of proportion to their number. One reason for this was the great ability of the men. The two lay delegates from Scotland, Maitland and Johnstone, measured up to the ablest lay members from the English Parliament; while Henderson, Rutherford and Gillespie formed a triumvirate that could hardly be equaled by any church of Christendom. Another reason, and a yet more powerful one, perhaps, was the fact that the Scotch commissioners knew exactly what they wanted and why they wanted it. The majority of the assembly were favorable to Presbyterianism in the abstract, but they had been reared in the Episcopal Church, and knew nothing from personal experience of the practical working of the Presbyterian polity. Thus the Scotch had the advantage of contending for principles with which they had been familiar, all their lives, and under the operation of which they had for years been exercising their ministry. The work of the assembly consisted in framing a Confession of Faith, Directory for Worship, Form of Government, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. From reasons, which it would be out of place here to consider, England received very little direct benefit from the labors of the Assembly. On the other hand, Scotland at once accepted all the formularies which it produced, and from that time to the present, not only the Church of Scotland, but all the churches that have sprung from her in other lands, in Canada, in the United States of America, and in Australia, have

measured orthodoxy by the Westminster Confession of Faith and have carried on government and exercised discipline in accordance with the polity framed by that famous assembly.

Outcome of the War.—When the Scots joined the English patriots in a war against Charles I, it was not with the thought of overthrowing the monarchy, or of injuring the king. They merely meant to recover him from his evil ways, and secure from him certain guarantees that he would henceforth respect the rights of his subjects. But as the war progressed, Oliver Cromwell came into prominence as the one great military genius of the times; and before the revolution was over he held all the reins of power in his hands. Cromwell well knew that if Charles were restored to his throne, no matter with what guarantees, there would be no room in England for him, and he very rightly judged that of the two, England could much better spare Charles. In conformity with this judgment, he “purged” Parliament and had the king beheaded. At this the Scotch were horrified, and at once took steps to bring the king’s young son over from Holland. They managed to get him safely landed among them; and after making him kneel down and confess the sins of his father and mother, and then sign the National Covenant, with hand lifted high to heaven in solemn oath, they put the crown on his head. Cromwell did not wait for this consummation before starting north with his Psalm-singing Ironsides to see if their matters would stand. In two great battles he annihilated the military force of Scotland. The young king, leaving his crown behind fled in disguise from the kingdom, barely escaping with his head. The hand that had proved resistless in England and Ireland was laid with such heavy

weight on Scotland that "even that stubborn church," to quote the words of Macaulay, "which had held its own against so many governments, scarce dared to utter an audible murmur."

Oliver Cromwell and the Church of Scotland.—Cromwell has been much censured for invading the liberties of the Church of Scotland, dispersing its synods and breaking up its general assemblies. It should be noted, however, that the church had made common cause with Charles II, and the ministers had exerted themselves to rally the nation to the royal standard. They did this when they had good reason to know that the young king was playing the hypocrite and perjuring himself in signing the covenant. Cromwell wrote just after the battle of Dunbar: "Some of the honestest in the army among the Scots did profess before the fight that they did not believe the king in his declaration; and it is evident he did sign it with the greatest reluctance, and so much against his heart as could be; and yet they venture their lives for him upon this account; and publish to the world this 'Declaration' to be believed as the act of a person converted, when in their heart of hearts they knew he abhorred the doing of it, and meant it not." Cromwell's judgment was so manifestly just in this matter that we censure him less severely for selling some of the captives, taken in this battle of Dunbar, as slaves to the colonists of New England. Till his death in 1658, the great Oliver ruled Scotland with a despotism that would brook no opposition, but it was a despotism in the interests of righteousness. No minister who devoted himself to his proper work of building up the spiritual kingdom of Christ was molested. No trace of prelacy was permitted; and fair-minded Scotchmen now admit that while the people

were ruled against their will, they were on the whole ruled well. The means of grace were furnished in abundance and in purity ; and religion flourished as at no other time since the Reformation.

Restoration of the Monarchy.—On the death of Cromwell, the scepter of his power passed to the hand of his son Richard. That hand was too feeble to wield it. After a few months, Richard resigned the Protectorate, and retired to private life. The country was now trembling on the verge of anarchy. The thoughts of the people turned to Charles II, who was again in Holland, and their hearts grew tender as they reflected on his pathetic condition and the tragic fate of his father. Without exacting any pledges that he would be more considerate of their rights than his father had been, they brought him back, and seated him on the throne with great rejoicing. Scotland shared in the joy. Was he not their own kith and kin? Had he not put his hand to the National Covenant, thus engaging to defend the beloved kirk? Did he not do this after having been solemnly admonished not to sign if he had any scruples? It may be suggested, in passing, that he evidently had no scruples in signing the Covenant, for he never had any scruples about anything. He could make an oath and break it with equal freedom from scruples. But the Scots had to learn some things yet about the king for whom a few years before they had poured out their blood so freely. In the meantime they joined in the general rejoicing over the setting up again of the throne, and the substitution of a crowned Stuart for the uncrowned Oliver.

Episcopalians Uncompromising and Resentful.—Never was joy more untimely. The utmost that can be said for the new king is that he was good-natured, and ut-

terly godless. He might have been willing to let the Scots alone in the enjoyment of their Presbyterianism, if his Episcopal advisers had let him alone. But with the restoration of the monarchy came the restoration of the Established Church; and this meant the restoration of the bishops who had suffered because of their devotion to Charles I. It hardly consisted with their idea of justice, to say nothing of gratitude, for Charles II to treat with equal consideration those who had been responsible for the revolution that resulted in his father's death, and those who, throughout the revolution, had shared his father's sufferings, and exerted themselves to the utmost to avert his tragic fate. They recognized that their turn had come now, and bishops though they were, they were also human enough to enforce the *lex talionis*. They resolved to restore the old order to the very last jot and tittle, and constrain the Presbyterians either to accept it, or take the consequence of expulsion from the Church.

Effects of the Restoration on Scotland.—Whether or not Charles II was good-natured, it cannot be questioned that his conduct toward his loyal subjects of Scotland was about as bad as it could be. He was guilty of perjury, ingratitude, treachery, and savage cruelty. As a specimen it may be noted that the Duke of Argyle, who had placed the crown on his head nine years before, and had then put his life in peril to defend that crown, went down to London to pay his respects to Charles, was there cast into prison, and afterwards was sent to Scotland and beheaded. Others who had fought under the banner of Charles in his effort to overthrow Cromwell fared no better. He had learned nothing from the fate of his father, but went to work to overthrow all the liberties that had been enjoyed during the period of the Protectorate, and to make

himself absolute in both state and Church. Absolutism necessitated the destruction of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and no time was lost in entering on this undertaking. Apart from the king's own base ingratitude and treachery, the most shameful aspect of the history is in the fact that the king found willing agents to assist in destroying the kirk among the Scots themselves, and even among the Presbyterians.

The Setting Up of Episcopacy.—The Parliament met on the 1st day of January, 1661, and lent itself, with the most obsequious servility, to the purpose of the king. It “did rescind all the acts approving the National Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, and the abolishing of bishops in Scotland; and they rescinded all acts for Presbyterian government, yea, all Parliaments since 1637, as wanting lawful authority—only tolerating Presbyterian government during the king's pleasure.” It may be presumed that it was not the king's pleasure to tolerate Presbyterian government long. In the following September, only eight months after the Parliament put the power in his hands, the king had proclamation made that it was his pleasure that the kirk be restored “to the right government of bishops.” Immediately thereupon four clergymen were sent down to London to be ordained bishops and to receive the sacred deposit of holy orders for the propagation of a perennial line of bishops. On their return to Scotland they consecrated ten bishops to as many vacant sees, and we have it from Episcopal authority that “the Apostolic Succession has not been again interrupted.” The next step was to declare that all preachers who had been settled in their pastorates since 1649, had been settled unlawfully, and now if they would retain their churches they must receive them at the hands

of the patron and the bishop of the diocese. When this act was enforced, as it was with unrelenting rigor, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland had ceased to exist.

It is matter for astonishment that Charles II should have succeeded in a very little while in doing what both his father and grandfather strove to do through many years and failed to do. We must look for an explanation in two facts: (1) the people were worn out with the incessant strife of years, and were wanting in that vigor of spirit which had belonged to former days; (2) there was no Knox, nor Melville, nor Henderson to arouse them to heroic resistance. There was at this juncture a dearth of great men.

Persecution.—Let it not be supposed that all the people were submissive. Far from it. Never did the spirit of inflexible devotion to principle exhibit itself in more lofty heroism than during this period. When the preachers were given the alternative of submitting to the bishops, or giving up their churches and homes, four hundred of them went out, sacrificing not only comfort, but their only means of livelihood. Their people generally were loyal to them, and deserted the churches from which they had been expelled. But this could not be allowed. Soldiers were sent to enforce attendance on the parish church. Fines and imprisonments were the penalty for absence. The ejected preachers were forbidden to preach anywhere, and in case they should disregard the prohibition, the people were forbidden to attend on their ministry. It was utterly impossible for all the preachers and people to so stifle their convictions, and repress the spirit of independence which is so strong in the Scotch character, as to comply with these stringent measures. They worshiped together in the woods and

fields, taking the risks of discovery and punishment. Many were the trials which they suffered, their condition growing worse all the while as the government became more thoroughly organized in its machinery for suppressing dissent.

The Pentland Rising.—Goaded to desperation, a few brave spirits came together and resolved to try what virtue there was in open resistance. A battle took place with the government troops on the 26th of November, 1666, at Rullion Green, on the Pentland Hills. The raw recruits were no match for the trained soldiers, and suffered a sore defeat. This was made the pretext for increasing severities. The court of High Commission, near of kin to the Spanish Inquisition, in its spirit and methods, used the thumbscrew and the boot, to extort confessions, and to secure information against suspects. Ten of the prisoners, taken in the battle, were executed on the charge of treason. The condition of the people was now most pitiable. They were constrained to endure without a murmur the imposition of a Church government and worship which were odious to them, and daily making itself more odious; and also to repudiate vows which they felt to be binding on their consciences; or as the only alternative, to suffer whatever indignity and outrage a brutal soldiery chose to inflict on them. Many families were ruined by fines; and men, women and even children were the victims of violence in various forms.

The Agents of the Government.—Those who were most prominent in the persecution of the Presbyterians, or the Covenanters, as they were now called, were native Scotchmen, many of them renegades, or apostates from the faith which they were persecuting. The Duke of Lauderdale, who sat in the Westminster Assembly as a

trusted and honored elder from the Church of Scotland, was Secretary of State and specially active in forcing Episcopacy on his countrymen. Perhaps, however, the palm for supereminence in evil was fairly won by James Sharp. He had held a pastorate in the Presbyterian Church during the time of the commonwealth. On the eve of the restoration, being recognized as a man of affairs, Sharp was sent over to Breda, as a representative of the Presbyterian interests, to "provide for the protection and preservation of the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation." He most shamefully betrayed his trust, and came back to Scotland to be a docile instrument in the hands of the king and court to overthrow the Church whose interests he had been appointed to guard. He was rewarded for his treachery by being made Archbishop of St. Andrews. He sold himself to do evil in the sight of the Lord, and his name is not likely to be forgotten. An attempt was made on his life which failed, and the result was an increase of his malignant zeal. By and by, another attempt was made on his life which did not fail. A few Covenanters met him on a lonely moor, and there and then, they constituted themselves judge, jury, and executioner, and deliberately put him to death—not, as they said, to gratify any personal malice, but merely to vindicate justice.

Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge.—The allegiance of many of Charles' poor persecuted subjects gave way under the prolonged injustice and outrage to which they were subjected. They came to deny his right to exercise power over their religious beliefs, and to feel that it would be no violation of their duty to God, if they should take up arms in self-defense. This view led numbers to

arm themselves, and to stand guard over the congregations that met for worship in the open air. John Graham, or Claverhouse, as he is more frequently called, at the head of the king's troops, while scouring the country to break up these "Conventicles," came upon a body of these sentinels, and ordered his soldiers to fire into them. The fire was returned, and was followed by a determined charge. Claverhouse had to save himself by flight, and left forty troopers behind him dead on the ground. Of course, this act of rebellion must be revenged. A large force was sent out from Edinburgh, under the Duke of Monmouth. The Covenanters marshaled what strength they could for resistance. The two forces met at Bothwell Bridge. The battle went against the Presbyterians, four hundred were slain and twelve hundred were taken prisoners. On these, horrible cruelties were practiced, and fresh means of persecution devised against the weakened Covenanters. So many were the victims of this indiscriminate persecution that it is known in history as the "KILLING TIME."

Reign of James II.—In 1685 Charles II died, and having no offspring, the crown passed to his brother James II. The new king was a Roman Catholic, and it might have been supposed that it was a matter of no concern to him whether his Scotch subjects were Episcopalians or Presbyterians. As they were in revolt against the Pope, they were, by that, debarred from heaven, in either case, and why should it matter with him whether they went to perdition with or without bishops? Obviously it was not a question of the hereafter with James, but a question of the here and now. He had inherited the dictum of his grandfather, "No bishop, no king," and in the light of this he was shaping his policy. It would

not make their chances of heaven any brighter to impose Episcopacy on them, but it would greatly brighten his prospects of ruling with an absolute and arbitrary power. So the persecution of the Covenanters went on, not with the same unrelenting severity, but with the same brutal ferocity. Fortunately for the distressed Covenanters, James very soon alienated all classes of his Protestant subjects. He undertook by the sheer exercise of his own royal will to relieve his fellow Catholics from the operation of the laws against dissent. Very naturally the whole country became alarmed. If the laws could not restrain this Catholic king, there was grave reason to fear that the realm would again be brought under the rule of the Pope. England and Scotland, Episcopalian and Presbyterian were at one in their purpose that this should not be done; and so they joined in an invitation to William of Orange, grandson of Charles I, the son-in-law of James, and stadtholder of Holland, to come over and be their king. James found himself deserted by his army, and was constrained to flee from his kingdom in the disguise of a servant.

Policy of the New King.—William III, as he was henceforth known, was a Dutch Presbyterian. Very naturally the Scotch looked for better times, nor were they disappointed. This sturdy Dutchman did not, like James I, forget his Presbyterian raising when he found himself at the head of the English Church. He was the only genuine Presbyterian head that Church has ever had, and on the whole he was, with the exception of Queen Victoria, the best head it has ever had. In respect to religious tolerance, he showed the same largeness of view that had been characteristic of his countrymen since the days of his great-grandfather, William the Silent.

The Revolution Settlement.—In 1690 was formed the Revolution Settlement, by which the Presbyterian Church was again established by law as the national Church of Scotland. “The first step in this settlement was the abolition of the act of 1661, which had made the king supreme over all persons and in all causes civil and ecclesiastical. The next was to restore the surviving ministers, about sixty, who had been ejected in 1662. The last decisive step was to establish the Church on the basis of the Confession of Faith, and of the Presbyterian polity as defined and secured by the act of 1592.” It seems that it took the Stuart dynasty just a hundred years to demonstrate that the Scotch people could not be transformed into Episcopalians, and precisely the same length of time to render their ideas of kingcraft so odious to the whole British nation that they could no longer endure their rule.

Character of the Reconstituted Church.—William Carstairs was the king’s chief adviser in Scotch affairs. He was educated in Holland, and had formed an intimate relation with William of Orange before they crossed to England together. He shared in the broad-minded views of the king, and advised the reëstablishing of presbytery with certain checks, which would prevent a deeply-wronged and irritated people from taking vengeance on their former oppressors. The appointment of preachers was placed in the hands of the land-owners and the elders. The conditions were made easy for those already holding churches under Episcopal appointment to retain their positions. Only a mild repentance was required, and the avowed acceptance of the new order of affairs. Many complied, and without any loss to themselves were transformed from Episcopal to Presbyterian preachers.

When it is considered that thousands of the Covenanters, including the ablest and the best, paid with their lives the price of their devotion to principle, and that their place was taken by this element, whose principles sat so loosely on them that they could lay them aside at the bidding of policy, it becomes obvious that the rehabilitated Church entered on its new career on no very lofty plain of piety. "Its ministry consisted, *first*, of sixty elderly men, the survivors of the ejection of 1662; *second*, of more than a hundred others who had been ordained after that date, but who had in many ways conformed to the prelatic system; *third*, of three preachers, who had been ministering among the hill-folk, or extreme Covenanters; and lastly of the curates who were found willing to submit to the new order of things." It was not long before it came to be manifest that these heterogeneous elements had in them the seeds of future trouble. After the lapse of a few years two distinct parties emerged, the Moderates and the Evangelicals. As the names import, one party discounted experimental religion, magnified scholarship and preached the ethical side of Christianity; the other party believed in a religion which warms the heart and inspires devotion, and they preached Christ, and the need of regeneration.

Formation of the Associate Presbytery.—In 1702 Queen Anne came to the throne. She was the last of the Stuart dynasty, and showed herself true to its spirit and history by meddling in the affairs of the Scotch Church. In the changed state of the world, she could not undertake anything so rash as attempting to put it again under the control of bishops, but she did it all the harm she could. In saying this it is assumed that she was responsible for an act of Parliament, which was an

embodiment of the old spirit of hostility to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and in a line with former efforts to gain an advantage for Episcopacy. In 1707 the two realms of England and Scotland were united under one Parliament. In entering into this union one of the guarantees exacted by the Scots was that the Confession of Faith and Presbyterian form of Church government were "to continue without any alteration to the people of this land in all succeeding generations." And yet just five years after the Union, the English Parliament, in the face of earnest protest from all parties in the Church, imposed upon it one of the greatest curses under which it ever suffered. This was the act restoring lay-patronage. The new act did not go into effect at once. The lay patrons for a time respected the rights of the people, but at length, as Moderatism ripened into a large measure of religious indifference, patrons became more aggressive and the assembly less jealous of their encroachments upon religious liberty. Matters reached a crisis in 1733, when Ebenezer Erskine was rebuked for advocating reform, and on refusing to submit was suspended from the ministry. Three other ministers went out with him, bearing the same reproach, and these four on the 6th of December, 1733, formed themselves into the Associate Presbytery. It is a day to be remembered with sadness. The noble Church of Scotland, which had suffered through nearly two centuries, resisting even unto blood, in a heroic struggle for the right to manage her own affairs, thrust out from her bosom those of her own children who still had the spirit to prolong the same struggle. Such a shameful thing could never have happened, had not the fires of devotion been permitted to burn low on her altars.

Formation of the Relief Church.—This secession did not put an end to the troubles. The patrons continued to present unacceptable men to the livings. The people continued to reject them and the General Assembly continued to uphold the legal rights of the patron. If a presbytery sided with the people, the assembly overrode the presbytery. Soon another earnest soul could endure the outrage no longer, and daring to obey his conscience, he was suspended from his sacred office. This was Thomas Gillespie, and being joined by Thomas Boston, and Collier of Colinsburgh, they organized a presbytery to which they gave the significant title of the "Relief Church." They designed that it should be a refuge for all those who, like themselves, could no longer bear "the yoke of patronage and the tyranny of Church courts."

This second secession took place in the year 1752, the year which marked the advent of Principal Robertson as the acknowledged leader of the General Assembly. He was the consummate flower and fruitage of Moderatism, calm, cultured, eloquent, ardent in the pursuit of literature, but utterly phlegmatic in reference to piety. As historian of Scotland, America and Charles V, he won great fame, and came into intimate relations with such writers as Gibbon and Hume. Drawn to them by congeniality of literary taste, he was not repelled by their avowed hostility to Christianity. During the twenty years of his ascendancy over the General Assembly, the unrighteous laws concerning patronage were rigidly enforced, "now and again with the help of a troop of dragoons," and the complaints of the people and the scruples of presbyteries were alike disregarded. It was well for the cause of Christ that Erskine and Gillespie

threw off the yoke, and opened the way for others to escape from a tyranny so galling to every truly devout soul.

The Evangelical Revival.—With the incoming of the nineteenth century, there came also the dawn of a brighter day for the Church of Scotland. Among the human agents of God chosen to usher in this day, two names are especially prominent. One of these was Andrew Thompson, who began his ministry in Edinburgh in 1810. With effective eloquence he lifted into prominence the great doctrines of grace, and then with fearless plainness rebuked the worldliness, the lax living that pervaded the Church. In addition to his pulpit ministry he established a church paper, *The Christian Instructor*, which gave him a larger audience, and contributed in no small degree to the dissemination of evangelical views. The other name is more illustrious still. “In 1811, the tongue of Thomas Chalmers was first unloosed to preach the truth.” This was eight years after his ordination, but up to 1811, his preaching had been purely professional, and had by no means enlisted as much of his interest as his mathematical and philosophical pursuits. God used the writings of William Wilberforce to awaken his conscience, to quicken and warm his heart. His preaching now took on a decidedly evangelical tone; and it was not long before all Scotland knew that a mighty force had entered into the life of the reviving Church. In adding Chalmers to the side of the Evangelicals, God had given them a “mouth and a wisdom which none of their adversaries could gainsay or resist.”

Home and Foreign Missions.—The tide of genuine piety which had long been ebbing was now fairly turned, and the church was aroused to beneficent activity in many directions. She began to concern herself about the

neglected classes for whom no adequate provision was made in the Established Church. A scheme of Church extension was inaugurated, which in a few years had planted two hundred Chapels of Ease throughout the country. But the sympathies of the Church, throbbing now with renewed animation, could not be restricted within the narrow limits of Scotland, nor indeed of Christendom. From the time of his conversion, the heart of Chalmers had glowed with missionary fervor. God, in his providence, brought under the power of his voice a student in the University of St. Andrews, whose name is honored to this day as the greatest missionary that has yet been given to India, the name of Alexander Duff. He was sent out by the Church of Scotland in 1829, one of the best missionaries ever sent to the heathen world. Up to that time only voluntary societies in the Church had carried on the work of foreign missions.

Origin of the Free Church.—As spiritual life became more vigorous, the chronic troubles over lay patronage reached an acute stage. Patrons were still exercising their legal right, under the act of Queen Anne, to force unacceptable pastors on the people. The assembly had now come to sympathize with her oppressed children, and in 1834 passed a veto act, by which presbyteries were forbidden to induct the nominees of patrons against the will of the people. A test case was made and the civil court decided that the veto act was unconstitutional, and so the parishioners were still at the mercy of the unmerciful patrons. Two ways only were open to the General Assembly—it must either resist and take the consequences, let them be what they might, or shamefully submit and betray the sacred interests of God's people. It is painful to record that it chose the latter way.

The year 1842 a convocation was held, and a large number of ministers resolved that if no relief could be secured, they would withdraw from the establishment. It was their purpose, if the government would not agree to protect and support the Church without attempting to subvert its liberties, to renounce the protection and support of the government, and cast themselves on the providence of God and the voluntary gifts of his people. No relief came, and so the next year, they carried out their purpose. On the 18th day of May, 1843, four hundred and seventy ministers and a large body of sympathizing elders withdrew from the Established Church, and organized themselves into the Free Church of Scotland.

Effects of this Disruption.—Few churches have ever suffered such a blow as that inflicted by the Disruption of 1843 on the Church of Scotland. “In the large towns her chief pulpits were vacant; of her country parishes more than one fourth were in like condition; of her Chapels of Ease, her latest joy and pride, nigh two thirds had deserted the mother that bore them; and her very claim to the fabrics of these last, which were burdened with a debt of £30,000, had to be vindicated in the civil courts. Abroad the outlook was equally discouraging. Of all her missionaries, Indian and Jewish, only one remained steadfast. Taking their converts and the good name of the Scottish Church along with them, they cast in their lot with the Free Church.” Truly it was an appalling task to which the Church must address itself. Vacant pulpits of commanding importance were to be filled, and there were no preachers to fill them; foreign mission stations were well equipped with buildings, but there were no missionaries to occupy them; the home work was prostrated, and the men through whose

energy it had so recently prospered were no longer within the Church's pale.

Present Condition of the Church.—It may be said to the credit of the Church that it wasted no time in idle repining over the great disaster which had befallen it; but set to work with vigor to build up the waste places. It soon organized both its home and foreign missions, and these departments of the Church's work have gone steadily forward. In the meantime efforts were put forth to secure a more satisfactory adjustment of the relation of Church and state. Some relief was obtained by partial concessions from the government; and in 1874 the law of private patronage, which had wrought so much damage, was finally abolished, since which time the people have been permitted to choose their own pastors. For those who believe in the principle of establishment, the condition of the Church of Scotland is as nearly ideal, perhaps, as its members could reasonably expect. Still the government is careful to keep the Church reminded of its presence and authority, even while it does not exercise its power oppressively. A representative of the crown must be present at every meeting of the General Assembly; and it belongs to his office to appoint, by royal authority, the time and place of the next meeting. This may be an innocent formality, but to those who have ever breathed the air of perfect religious liberty, such an intimation of a right to a voice in the government of the Church, on the part of him who wears an earthly crown, and solely in virtue of the fact that he wears an earthly crown, would be intolerable.

In 1866, the General Assembly passed an act permitting congregations to introduce instrumental music and other innovations in the forms of worship where this

could be done without creating dissension. Many congregations have availed themselves of the permission; and there has become manifest in some quarters a decided tendency to "enrich the worship," as it is expressed, by ritualistic elaborations.

The growth of the Church is indicated by the fact that its ministers, congregations and communicants are much more numerous now than before the disruption.

The Divisions of Scotch Presbyterianism.—During a part of its history, the Presbyterianism of Scotland manifested a remarkable propensity to split. The Scotchmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries showed no disposition to compromise principle, nor did they concern themselves much to find means of conciliation. When, therefore, a clear-cut issue was raised, involving a matter of any consequence, the result was likely to be a division of the Church into two bodies. At the Revolution Settlement, the followers of Richard Cameron saw, in the Erastianism involved in the Settlement, a good reason for refusing to go into the National Establishment. For some years they had no preachers to minister to them, but they held together as praying societies until joined by ministers, at which time they took the name of the Reformed Church. In 1733, Erskine, and three other ministers saw, in the iniquity of lay patronage, a sufficient reason for refusing to remain in the church of their fathers, and organized the Associate Presbytery. In the course of a few years, the members of this presbytery differed as to the propriety of taking certain oaths which were administered by the leading cities of Scotland to burgesses. They divided into two churches, Burghers and Anti-Burghers. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, each of these divided into Old

Light and New Light. In 1752, Thomas Gillespie, unwilling to take part in the obtrusion of an unacceptable minister on a parish, disobeyed the injunction of the superior court, and was cast out. He and others formed the Relief Church. Thus for a time there were seven Presbyterian churches in Scotland, all having sprung from the same root, but all standing apart in hostile attitude toward each other. These frequent and numerous divisions are a testimony to the Scotchman's strength of will and persistence of purpose. He professes himself "open to conviction," but challenges "any man on earth to convict him."

The Unions of Scotch Presbyterianism.—During the nineteenth century, the proverbial firmness of the Scotchman seems to have given way. His nature softened and his will relaxed under the more benign influences of these later days. In 1820, the two main divisions of Erskine's church came together and coalesced under the name of the United Secession Church. In 1847, it was discovered that the Relief Church and the United Secession Church had grown to be so much alike that no sufficient reason existed for their longer standing apart; so they consolidated into one with much enthusiasm, taking the name of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Both the churches entering into this union were strong in elements of intellectual, moral and spiritual power. They were conservative in doctrine, evangelical in spirit, and aggressive in practice. They carried on a vigorous home mission work, and after their union they easily took the lead of all the churches of Scotland, or of Christendom for that matter, with the one exception of the Moravians, in their devotion to the work of world-wide evangelism. The last and greatest union took place

in October, 1900. Then the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church formed a happy combination, and are now known as the United Free Church. As all these unions seem to have been consummated without the sacrifice of any vital principles, it is matter for thanksgiving to all who wish well to the future of Presbyterianism in Scotland.

The Free United Church.—Notice has been taken of one of the bodies of which this church is composed. The other, the Free Church of Scotland, had its birth, as we have seen in the “Disruption of 1843.” Those who at that time went into the new organization gave up their churches, their manses, and their stipends. Their sacrifice was the same as that of the two thousand who were ejected from the English Church in 1662 by the act of uniformity, and of the four hundred who in like manner were ejected from the Church of Scotland. The motive of the sacrifice was the same devotion to a great principle. It was, therefore, not without reason that this body claimed to be in true succession to the Church of Knox, of Melville, and of Henderson. It was standing by the same principle for which they fought, the spiritual independence of God’s people. Their splendid act of self-abnegation excited the admiration of the whole Christian world. It was an eloquent testimony to the power of vital godliness. The sympathy which it awakened started the Free Church on a high vantage ground. Moreover it was blessed with leaders of transcendent ability. Seldom has any church been blessed with such a galaxy of lustrous names as those of Chalmers, Guthrie, Candlish, Cunningham, Welsh and Duff. Under their wise administration schemes of self-support were quickly matured and put into successful operation.

Whereas the prime need of the National Church was men, the prime need of the Free Church was money. The noble enthusiasm kindled by the righteousness of her cause proved sufficient to supply it. The growth of the church, both at home, and abroad has been rapid, steady and healthful. This growth has been confined to no one class of the population, but has been pronounced among the professional and commercial classes.

Comparison of Free Church With the Mother Church.—The adherence of all the missionaries to the Free Church, when the disruption occurred, threw a great responsibility on the new organization. It speaks volumes for the strength and fervor of its evangelical life that, notwithstanding the burden of self-support which was suddenly thrown upon it, the church gladly assumed the responsibility in the foreign field, and with generous liberality furnished new equipment, and sped the work on its way. In every department of activity, the Free Church has demonstrated its wisdom in withdrawing from an establishment in which its life and energies were cramped, and its noblest aspirations thwarted. Moreover it is evident that its withdrawal has proved a great blessing to the Mother Church. Competition has stimulated her to more intense activity; and the example of self-sacrificing liberality set before her by the Free Church has induced her to put forth efforts of enlarged beneficence. A glance at the records will show, however, that the National Church still has much to learn in the matter of Christian liberality. The Free United Church, composed of bodies which for generations, have been thrown on their own resources for self-support, shows the blessed result of such training. Its foreign mission work is represented by 396 European

and 1,387 native workers ; the communicants gathered from among the heathen number 37,948 ; while the annual contributions for sustaining the work amount to \$658,285. Over against this, the National Church reports ninety-nine European workers, 171 native workers, 2,483 communicants, and annual contributions, aggregating \$243,890. Looking at the roll of communicants of the two churches, and comparing their respective contributions, it is seen that the National gives forty cents per member, while the Free United Church gives \$1.35 per member. These figures furnish a strong argument against state establishment,—its tendency is to make the church a parasite, and to dry up the fountain of her benevolence.

Fragments of Churches.—In the various unions that have taken place from time to time, nearly all the Presbyterian elements in Scotland have at length gotten together in the two great churches, to which reference is made above. But certain fragments were broken off in the process of forming the unions. There is still a Reformed Church, consisting of eight ministers, and 1,040 communicants ; there is also the United Original Secession Church, with twenty-four ministers and 3,769 communicants ; and finally there is a synod in England connected with the Church of Scotland, consisting of fourteen ministers and 3,520 communicants.

CHAPTER VII

IRELAND

Introduction of Presbyterianism.—St. Patrick and the church which he planted in Ireland have been claimed by Roman Catholic, Episcopalian and Presbyterian. While believing that Patrick more resembled a Presbyterian bishop than any other church dignitary, yet we will waive the question as to the character of the church which he founded and date the beginning of Presbyterianism in Ireland from the early years of the seventeenth century. The way was opened for it by the collapse of the rebellion, headed by the two powerful chieftains, O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell. They sought refuge in exile on the continent and their lands were forfeited to the crown. King James opened the territory to settlers from England and Scotland, on very advantageous conditions. A goodly number from both nations, the majority from Scotland, speedily availed themselves of the opening. The Scotts settled mostly in the counties of Down and Antrim, but in considerable numbers throughout the province of Ulster. They were moved especially by two impulses, one was to secure good lands at cheap rates, and the other was to escape from unhappy conditions at home. Their renegade king, James I, now become an ardent Episcopalian, was trying to force the blessings of Episcopacy on his native land. Thus he put an inducement in front, and a goad behind.

Ecclesiastical Conditions in Ireland.—These were peculiarly favorable for the introduction of Presbyterianism. The Primate of the Irish Church was the saintly-souled and liberally-minded Usher. He had been taught in Trinity College, Dublin, by a Presbyterian teacher, while the provost of the college was the distinguished Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. Walter Travers. The archbishop never outgrew his respect for men of this faith. Echlin, Bishop of Down, was also liberally inclined, and being himself a native of Scotland, seemed altogether willing to see his fellow-countrymen settled in his jurisdiction. There was sore need of more preachers than the Episcopal Church could furnish, for the new settlers were a motley mixture, tares of a very ugly kind being mingled with the wheat. A writer of the seventeenth century is quoted as saying that, "From Scotland there came many, and from England not a few, yet all of them generally of the scum of both nations, who for debt, or breaking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came hither, hoping to be without fear of human justice, in a land where there was nothing, or but little yet of the fear of God. Thus on all hands, atheism increased and disregard of God; iniquity abounded, contention, fighting, murder." But there was among the Scotts a sufficient number who feared God "to set up preaching in all the churches wherever they fixed." According to an Episcopal writer these "brought with them hither such a stock of Puritanism, such a contempt for bishops, such a neglect of the public liturgy, and other divine offices of this Church that there is nothing less to be found among them than the government and forms of worship established in the Church of England." With such parishioners as these to contend with, some full of devilishness and the rest full of

Puritanism, the dignitaries of the Episcopal Church were ready to avail themselves of Presbyterian preachers from Scotland. They therefore welcomed Edward Brice in 1613, Robert Cunningham in 1615, and a little later, Robert Blair, James Glendinning, James Hamilton, John Livingstone, Josias Welsh and others of like lofty character and earnest spirit. These were permitted to occupy the parish churches, receive the legal tithes for their support, and to conduct worship and administer discipline according to the forms of the Church of Scotland; and all this without any Episcopal ordination. Had this liberal and sensible policy continued as a permanency, what a different history would have been written of Protestantism in Ireland!

A Great Revival.—God wrought with these pioneer preachers, and soon a marked change began to manifest itself in the religious condition of the new settlers. In 1625 a great revival commenced in the congregation to which the Rev. James Glendinning ministered. The Lord's choice of him for the honor of beginning such a work was an illustration of his using "the weak things of the world to confound the mighty." He was first settled at Carrickfergus. Robert Blair, regarding this as a very disastrous misfit, visited him and advised him to leave Carrickfergus, because of its importance, and to retire to a country charge, better suited to his ability. It is proof of abounding grace in his heart that he took this advice and went to Old Stone. "He was," says Mr. Blair, "a man who would never have been chosen by a wise assembly of ministers, nor sent to begin a reformation in this land, for he was little better than distract, yea, afterwards did actually distract. Yet this was the Lord's choice to begin the admirable work of God, which I mention, on purpose that

all men may see how the glory is only the Lord's in making a holy nation in this profane land; and that it was not by might, nor by power, nor by man's wisdom, but by my spirit, saith the Lord." He knew only how to wield the terrors of the law, but he did this with such effect, under the blessing of God, that a lewd and turbulent people were brought to their knees in deep, and even agonizing contrition. Their spiritual distress was accompanied with remarkable physical manifestations. "I have seen them myself," writes the same Mr. Blair, "stricken and swoon with the word; yea, a dozen in one day carried out of doors as dead, so marvelous was the power of God, smiting their hearts for sin, condemning and killing." The influence of this work spread widely through the country. The other ministers came to the help of the eccentric Glendinning. Regular monthly meetings were established, attended by all the ministers who could reach them. By this means method was given to their aggressive efforts, and these resulted in the conversion of great numbers, and in the elevation of the standard of piety all over the country.

A Change in the Attitude of the Bishops.—With the increasing prosperity of their work, came a change in the bearing of the Episcopal clergy toward them. No doubt the friendliness of these in the outset was based on the hope that by kindness and courtesy, they could win the Presbyterians to the Episcopal Church. But what persecution could not do in Scotland, kindness could not do in Ireland. These Presbyterians were of the *jus divinum* stamp, and to give up their Church polity would involve the sacrifice of convictions as sacred as their reverence for God's word. Possibly the changed attitude of the Episcopal clergy which occurred later was caused by the growing influence

and importance of the Presbyterian ministers. Whatever the cause, the change itself was a very serious matter. Bishop Echlin set to work to silence them. He tried one plan after another, and these proving only partially successful, the matter was finally brought before King Charles. He put it into the hands of Wentworth, whom he had appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. The prospect of the Presbyterians was dark indeed, when their fate was made dependent upon the good, or ill-will of this unscrupulous servant of the crown. He and Archbishop Laud had committed themselves to an effort to make the king's power absolute in both Church and state. From this effort the Presbyterians of Scotland were suffering at this time, and of course the same policy could bring no good to the Presbyterians of Ireland. It was not long before all the preachers were brought to trial before the bishops and silenced. The godly and generous Ussher had interposed as long as his interposition could avail, but he had no power to withstand the malignant enemies who had now taken in hand to crush out all who would not conform to the prayer book. Henceforth he was helpless to protect brethren whom he sincerely loved, and his noble spirit was to find no further expression in the administrative policy of the Episcopal Church in Ireland.

An Effort to Take Refuge in America.—The door of opportunity being thus shut in their faces, and strongly bolted, the Presbyterians turned their eyes longingly to America. In the year 1636, they built a little vessel of one hundred and fifty tons burden, and named it the *Eagle Wing*, hoping that it would bear them by a swift flight to their desired haven. On the 9th day of September, one hundred and forty of them embarked in this frail craft, and committed themselves to the perils of the

ocean. Turning the prow Westward, they sailed a thousand miles, in perpetual struggle with wind and wave. God set this distance as the limit of their journey. He had no thought of giving up the work which through them he had begun, and so he increased the fury of the storm against which they had all the while been battling, shattered their little vessel, and forced it back to the port from which it started. Disappointed in their hope of reaching America, the silenced ministers returned to Scotland.

The Black Oath and What Followed.—Wentworth and the bishops did not stop with shutting the mouths of the preachers. They undertook the forcible conversion, or suppression of all the Presbyterians. They imposed ruinous fines upon some, they locked others up in prison, and they tried to force the "Black Oath" on all. By this oath they were required not only to swear allegiance to the king, but to swear that they would never oppose anything which he might command, and that they would renounce and abjure all covenants, such as the National Covenant, which at this time was giving the king and his supporters so much trouble in Scotland. Many of the staunch Presbyterians refused to take the oath, preferring rather the cruel penalties which the court of high commission chose to inflict. Soon their homes were in ruin, and they themselves in prison, with worse things in prospect. Wentworth had made up his mind and matured his plans for freeing Ireland from the presence of Presbyterians. Apparently there was nothing to hinder his executing his purpose. But the day of retribution was drawing near. The Long Parliament met in 1640, and very soon thereafter it called both Wentworth and Laud to account for their high-handed oppressions. On the

12th day of May in that same year Wentworth was beheaded, and four years later the same fate overtook Laud; and to finish this tale of retributive justice, it is worthy of mention that their most active accomplice, Charles I had the same measure meted out to him in 1649.

The Irish Rebellion.—A far worse scourge awaited Ireland, however, than the tyranny of Wentworth. It was only about six months after he had paid the penalty of his sins, when the native Irish rose up to exterminate the foreigners who had taken possession of lands which these natives still claimed as their own. This rebellion, or uprising, was instigated by Catholic priests, and the decree of extermination was issued against all Protestants. That was a cruel age, and many are the thrilling stories of bloody horrors which its history has transmitted to us. Of them all, not even excepting the massacre of St. Bartholomew, this "Irish Rebellion" stands out peerless in the utter fiendishness of its atrocities. The degraded savages, going forth with the benediction from priestly lips resting on their hearts to make them insensible to appeals for pity, illustrated as few savages have ever illustrated, the indescribable, unutterable measure of diabolical cruelty of which human nature is capable. They dashed out the brains of infants before the eyes of their mothers; they threw some into boiling pots, and others into filthy ditches. Merely to gratify their brutal instincts, they gouged out the eyes, cut off the ears and hands, cut out the tongues and otherwise mutilated the bodies of their helpless victims. They buried some alive, roasted some over slow fires, and devised every conceivable way to inflict shame and pain on those for whom they accounted death too gracious a boon. Their worst

deeds were of such a nature that decency will not permit them to be unveiled. No discrimination was made between Episcopalians and Presbyterians, between Englishmen and Scotchmen ; their object was to sweep all away. Thanks, however, to the preceding oppressive measures of Wentworth and the bishops, many Presbyterians were saved from this reign of terror by being driven across the channel to their native land. In this manner were preserved nearly all the preachers, and influential leaders, against whom especially the hostility of the Lord Deputy had been directed. Thus the Almighty made the wrath of man to praise him, using persecution to drive some of his children to a place of safety. He would not suffer them to cross to America, because he needed them in Ireland. He would not permit them at that time to remain in Ireland to be butchered, because he would save them till the opportunity came for service.

Presbyterians Make a New Beginning.—The opportunity soon came for the banished Presbyterians to reappear. Scotland sent ten thousand men under command of General Monro to put down the rebellion. These landed at Carrickfergus, and with the aid of a few troops who were already on the ground, quickly broke the force of the uprising. When the country had become in a measure quiet, the chaplains, who had crossed with the Scotch regiments, set about establishing ecclesiastical order in the army. They selected a number of ruling elders in each regiment, and formed them into sessions. When four of these courts had been formed, they called a meeting of their representatives, and, on June 10, 1642, organized the first presbytery that ever met on Irish soil. It will be recalled that the Presbyterian preachers who first came over to Ireland were permitted to exercise

their ministry in the parishes of the Established Church. Content with this arrangement, they made no effort to build up organic Presbyterianism. Hence the formation of the presbytery in 1642 marked a new, and most significant departure. It marked the beginning of great things for the permanent prosperity of the province of Ulster. It was the laying of the foundation of a structure that is still enlarging, and whose splendid proportions are already the glory of that land. This first presbytery was composed of five ministers and four ruling elders.

Changes Produced by the Revolution in England.—By the time the rebellion had been thoroughly crushed out, and the work of building up the waste places fairly inaugurated, war had broken out in England between Charles I and the Long Parliament. One of the first things which Parliament did was to abolish the Established Church, and remove the bishops from the House of Lords. Very soon they proceeded to more radical measures, issuing a manifesto in which they declared that such a prelatical church government as that which had existed in the realm was “an evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, a great impediment to reformation, and very prejudicial to the civil government,” and so they resolved to have no more of it. A few months thereafter, they called together the Westminster Assembly of Divines “to consult as to the settling such a government in the Church as may be agreeable to God’s word, and to bring it into nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed churches abroad.” The Parliament invoked the aid of the Scotch in their struggle with the king; and this gave birth to the Solemn League and Covenant. This covenant pledged the signers thereof, among other things, to

stand for the preservation of the Reformed religion in Scotland, and to endeavor "the bringing of the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction, and uniformity in religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory of Worship and Catechising." Of course, this sweeping revolution changed the face of things in Ireland. Not only were the persecutions, directed against Presbyterians, stopped, but the church which had been guilty of them was overturned, and the church which had endured the persecutions was invited to become a helper in inaugurating a new order of affairs. Scotch ministers brought the Solemn League and Covenant to Ireland; traversed the country; called the people together; preached to them, and urged them to sign this document as the charter of their new-born liberties. Their appeals met with a favorable response, and their mission did much to forward the interests of Presbyterianism.

In 1645, the Parliament sent over three governors to the province of Ulster. These gave public countenance and encouragement to the presbytery, and by their presence and influence did much to give effect to its labors. The parochial tithes were paid to the Presbyterian ministers, and they were thus recognized as the representatives of the state church. Under such favoring auspices, the growth of the Church was very rapid. By the close of the year 1647 there were thirty ordained ministers permanently settled in Ulster, and in addition to these were the chaplains of the Scotch regiments which still garrisoned the country.

Loyalty to the King Brings Fresh Troubles.—On the 30th day of January, 1649, Charles I was beheaded. To this act of violence, the Presbyterians in all three

kingdoms offered vigorous resistance. It was necessary for Cromwell to expel a number of them from the Long Parliament before the consent of that body could be secured. In Scotland, the Presbyterians invited Charles Stuart over from the Netherlands, crowned him at Scone, and took up arms in his behalf. In Ireland, the Presbyterians of Ulster drew up a "Representation," in which they condemned in no measured terms the execution of the king. They ordered this "Representation" to be read from every pulpit. It received the honor of an answer, by order of the council of state, and the author of this answer was no less a person than John Milton. He drew upon his well-stocked vocabulary for some of his most expressive epithets, calling attention to the "devilish malice, impudence and falsehood" of the remonstrance sent up from a "barbarous nook of Ireland." Obviously such conduct on the part of the Presbyterians was not calculated to draw toward them the favor of the Parliament, which, after being purged, had made itself responsible for the king's death. It was with this Parliament, known as the "Rump Parliament," that the Presbyterians now had to deal, and during the brief period of its power, they were not "carried to heaven on flowery beds of ease." An oath was submitted to them, called the "Engagement," by which they were required to "renounce the pretended title of Charles Stuart, and the whole line of the late King Charles, and every other person, as a single person pretending to the government." It was not the purpose of the Rump Parliament to have any more kings ruling in England, and empowered to trample on the rights of the people. The "Engagement" further bound them to be true and faithful to the commonwealth. The Presbyterian preachers refused to

take the oath, believing as they did in the hereditary right of Charles Stuart to the throne, and preferring monarchy, under proper restrictions, to any other form of government. The result was, they had to suffer for their loyalty to a king, who in after years demonstrated most conclusively his utter unworthiness of such sacrifices as they made in his behalf. They were summoned before the governors; forbidden to preach; soldiers were sent to keep watch over them; when they dared to disobey orders, they were arrested and thrown into prison. Some fled to the woods and to other hiding places, and others made their way to Scotland.

Conditions During Cromwell's Protectorate.—The churches suffered greatly from these repressive measures; but the time of their tribulation was short. Oliver Cromwell soon tired of the Rump Parliament, and abolished it. Having secured for himself the title of Lord Protector, he took the reins of power in his own untrammelled hands. He had reason to look with grave suspicion on the Presbyterians who were still professing loyalty to a kinglet across the channel. But conscious of his mastery, he had the grace to be magnanimous. When he found that the Presbyterians were willing to submit quietly to the inevitable, and to give themselves to preaching the gospel, and seeking the spiritual welfare of the people, he not only put a stop to all persecution, but granted to every one, who applied for it, state aid to the extent of one hundred pounds per annum. Under such generous treatment, the Presbyterian Church recovered lost ground, and bounded forward with rapid strides. Congregations multiplied, parts of the country, hitherto unoccupied, were possessed, the one presbytery

became five, and the twenty-four ministers of 1653 increased in a few years to seventy.

Restoration of Monarchy.—Oliver Cromwell died in 1658. His son Richard, who succeeded to his title, very soon demonstrated his inability to rule, and voluntarily gave up the effort. The eyes of the nation turned to Charles Stuart. He was recalled to the throne of his father amidst a great outburst of universal joy. In the strong reaction against the military despotism, established by Cromwell, the people hastily set up the throne, without exacting from Charles II any guarantees for the protection of their liberties. In so short a time they seem to have forgotten the wrongs which they had suffered from a line of kings who cherished absurdly exaggerated ideas of royal prerogative. They were not long in discovering their folly. The restoration of monarchy carried with it the restoration of Episcopacy, and this brought back to power the dignitaries of the Church, who had suffered during the period of the Commonwealth, and who now had the opportunity to pay off some old scores. Irish Presbyterians were the first to suffer, notwithstanding they had been among the first to demand the restoration of the king. Prelacy was again set up among them; bishops were placed in all the dioceses, and these at once made it understood that no one was to preach the gospel who had not been consecrated to the holy office by the laying on of Episcopal hands. Jeremy Taylor, "the impersonation and special jewel of Anglicanism," was bishop of Down and Connor. He made himself conspicuous by his intolerant spirit. He silenced Presbyterian preachers at a rapid rate, declaring, in one day, thirty-six of their pulpits vacant and sending curates to take their place. Other prelates followed Taylor's

example. They not only silenced, but deposed Presbyterian ministers. The only price at which these could purchase the dearly-prized privilege of preaching the gospel was to accept Episcopal ordination, and conform their worship to the prayer book. To their credit, be it said, only seven, out of sixty-eight, paid the price. The other sixty-one sorrowfully bade their devoted flocks farewell, gave up their manses, and went forth with their dependent families to endure poverty, and to trust God for their daily bread. The cruel blow fell not only on the preachers, but also on the people whom they had served. Says Mr. Froude: "To insist that none should officiate, who had not been ordained by a bishop, was to deprive two thirds of the Protestant inhabitants of the only religious ministrations which they would accept, and to force on them the alternative of exile or submission to a ritual which they abhorred as much as popery, while to enhance the absurdity, there were probably not a hundred episcopally-ordained clergy in the whole land.. Yet this is what the bishops deliberately thought it wise to do. Every clergyman had to subscribe a declaration that a subject, under no pretense, might bear arms against the king, and that the oath to the League and Covenant was illegal and impious. Non-conformists became at once the objects of an unrelenting persecution."

It is worthy of note that while a similar act of uniformity was passed in England, and similar persecutions were visited on the non-conformists of that kingdom, the blow did not fall till a year later. It was given to the Presbyterians of Ireland to take the lead in suffering afflictions for conscience' sake. Well did they perform the part which providence assigned them. They walked with steady tread through the fires that were kindled upon

them, and illustrated in the face of the world how grand a thing it is to sacrifice self for God and his truth. By their loyal adherence to principle, and their heroic endurance of the tragic consequences, they saved Presbyterianism to Ireland, and no one can easily estimate what that meant for distant lands, and for generations yet unborn.

A Period of Change for the Better.—In course of time, the loyalty of Presbyterians to law and order vindicated itself, and the government ceased to treat them as criminals. The deposed preachers gradually ventured to render service to their bereaved people. For awhile they moved among them privately, ministering to them in their homes. Occasionally they met them in barns, or in the open country under cover of darkness, and preached to them, and celebrated the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The officers of the law showing less and less disposition to molest them, they began about the year 1668 to build rude houses of worship. The influence of the preachers was enhanced by the fortitude with which they had borne their heavy trials. Their old congregations gathered lovingly around them, and their labors were blessed to the rapid upbuilding of the Church. Sessions and presbyteries were reorganized, discipline was enforced, and candidates for the ministry were licensed and sent forth. The Church's safety was still dependent, not upon legal securities, but upon the personal good will of the magistrates, yet during several years it enjoyed such measure of liberty as enabled the ministers to prosecute their work with diligence, and with most gratifying success.

New Troubles, Arising from Developments in Scotland.—The relations between Ireland and Scotland were

so very close that the resistance of the cruelly-oppressed Covenanters of the latter country to the will of the king awakened feelings against the Presbyterians of Ireland. Especially the affair at Bothwell Bridge, where the Covenanters ventured to meet armed force with armed force, had an unhappy effect on the Irish Church. Ormond, the lord-lieutenant, was alarmed at the news of the insurrection in Scotland, and took measures to stop all communication between the two countries. He pressed the oath of supremacy with renewed rigor, and used military force to see that his commands were obeyed. Presbyterian preachers were again introduced to the prisons, their church doors closed, and preachers and people were made to suffer in various ways for recusancy. Many now began to think of America afresh as an asylum, and perhaps no small number would have found means to cross the Atlantic, had not a change occurred which held out some hope of relief.

Policy of James II Brings Temporary Relief.—Charles II died in 1685, and was succeeded on the throne by his brother, James II. The new king was a Roman Catholic, and it might have been presumed that he would be at no pains to enforce uniformity to Episcopacy. The result justified such a presumption. It soon became evident that his prime aim in respect to Ireland was to relieve papists of their disabilities, and to make the Church of Rome once again supreme. Of all conceivable evils this would have been about the worst. It meant not merely subjecting Protestants to Catholics—this would have been bad enough, considering the old grudges that would have sought gratification—but it meant putting intelligent and cultured Englishmen under the power of ignorant and savage Celts. Terrible as was

the prospect, James sought, with a blind persistency of purpose, to bring it to pass. He appointed his brother-in-law, Earl of Clarendon, lord-lieutenant in place of Ormond. He could count on Clarendon's abject subserviency in carrying out his ill-starred purpose. But the king's fatuity was yet more clearly manifest in his appointing the Earl of Tyrconnel to the command of the army in Ireland. This most unscrupulous dare-devil proceeded to remodel the army by supplanting Protestant officers with Catholic, and by filling the ranks with papists. Civil offices were in like manner vacated that they might be filled with Catholics. Matters went from bad to worse until 1687 when James put the crown of folly on all his past administration by withdrawing Clarendon and putting Tyrconnel in the office of lord-lieutenant. With a free hand this rabid Romanist hurried on the work of revolutionizing all departments of the government. Not only were Protestants removed from all positions of power, but they were forbidden to carry arms. So great became the alarm that numbers of the English settlers hastily took steps to secure their property as best they could, and emigrated to England.

During all this period, the Presbyterians were unmolested. They, along with Roman Catholics, belonged to the class of dissent, and James could not relieve the Roman Catholics except by proclamations of indulgence which included all the nonconformists. Thus while the Presbyterians were not favored by promotions to positions in the army, or in the civil government, as were the papists, they enjoyed liberty of worship, and they used their liberty to advance the interests of Christ's kingdom. They were far, however, from approving the high-handed exercise of arbitrary power by which James set aside the

laws of Parliament. They declined to join in a letter of thanksgiving, which was sent to the king, commending him for his leniency toward those who had hitherto suffered under the penalty of oppressive laws. They knew the leniency was not born of any good will to them; and further they could not fail to know that if James succeeded in making the Roman Catholics supreme, the evils under which they had suffered for dissenting from Episcopacy would be light in comparison with the evils which their new masters would inflict.

A Threatened Massacre Gives Rise to the Siege of Derry.—In December, 1688, an anonymous letter was picked up in a little village near Belfast, addressed to the Earl of Mount-Alexander. The object of the letter was to warn him of a general massacre of the Protestants, planned for the 9th of that month. Copies of this letter were scattered abroad, and produced serious alarm among the Protestants. They recalled the blood-curdling stories of massacres of 1641, and knew that precisely the same deep-seated hatred that gave rise to those still existed, and that the same element of the population that perpetrated those massacres were as capable of such atrocities now as they had been then. Furthermore, Tyrconnel, who was supreme in power, was, with good reason, believed to have a heart black enough for any crime. There was thus abundant cause for alarm. Certain movement of troops tended to confirm the announcement contained in the letter. Detachments under Catholic commanders were sent to garrison some of the principal towns. In Enniskillen and Derry, news of their approach awakened the spirit of resistance. The Protestant inhabitants in these two cities determined to withstand, at all hazard, the purpose of the governor.

The valor displayed in carrying out their determination furnishes one of the most thrilling stories in the annals of war. Especially has the siege of Derry become famous. It so happened that the very day that the letter, warning of the intended massacre, reached the city, news was also brought that two regiments of Catholic troops, under Lord Antrim, were on their way to take possession of the city's garrison. Mayor Tomkins was much disturbed, and asked counsel of the Rev. James Gordon, a Presbyterian minister. His prompt advice was "shut the gate, and keep them out." For further counsel, the mayor sought the advice of the Episcopal bishop, Ezekiel Hopkins. Of course, the bishop counseled in harmony with the doctrine of nonresistance. King James was the Lord's anointed, and his troops must not be molested. Antrim's men were now at the gate. Eight or nine young apprentices of the city, inspired, as it would seem, by Gordon's brave words, ran and shut the gate and locked it. The citizens determined to stand by the action of the young men. This led to the siege of Derry, which began on the 18th day of April, 1689, and lasted one hundred and five days. The resources of the city, in food and ammunition, were soon exhausted. The famine increased until "rats were a dainty, and hides and shoe leather were the ordinary fare." Fever and cholera added their horrors to those of famine. But no one counseled surrender; indeed, no one was permitted to use the word. The Roman Catholic general, who was conducting the siege, brought in all the Protestant families from a distance of ten miles, old men, women and children, and herded them together under the wall; then issued a proclamation to the city, saying that he would keep them there till they starved if the city did not

capitulate. This barbarous device signally failed of its purpose. These starving ones, herded on the outside of the walls, called to the sentinels at their post, and exhorted them to remain firm. But the besieged had no idea of remaining passive while their helpless kinsmen were slowly enduring the pangs of starvation. They erected a gallows on the highest bastion, and proclaimed to the besieging army their purpose to hang all the prisoners in their possession if the suffering people were not permitted to return to their homes. This had its designed effect. Without going further into the details of this famous defense, suffice it to say that after the inhabitants of Derry had exhibited the very utmost of fortitude that is possible to man, relief reached them, and the siege was raised.

A Change of Dynasty in England.—The very month in which the anonymous letter, which alarmed the Protestants, was picked up in the streets of the Irish village, a bloodless revolution took place in England which seated William and Mary on the throne and sent James II into exile. The cause of this revolution was the universal discontent among all the Protestants of the three kingdoms. To the usual vices of the Stuarts, James added certain vices which grew out of his devotion to the Roman Catholic Church. By his folly, his cruelty, his treachery, and his utter disregard of all legal restraints placed on the royal prerogative, he demonstrated his utter unfitness to rule over subjects who had any spark of true manhood in them. In the short space of three years, he exhausted their patience, and they invited his son-in-law and daughter over from Holland to take his place. He escaped to France, and in March of the next year, crossed over to Ireland, hoping by the aid of the Roman Catho-

lics and the Irish Episcopalians, both of which parties were still loyal to him, to regain his throne. The Presbyterians of Ireland had gladly hailed the accession of William and Mary; and while they were in a feeble minority, by heroic endurance, as in the sieges of Derry and Enniskillen, they managed to keep the forces of James busy until William could first send troops, and then afterwards come in person, to their relief. Several indecisive battles were fought; and finally on the 1st day of July, 1690, in the famous battle of the Boyne, the army of James was completely routed, and his power permanently overthrown.

Lights and Shadows During the Reign of William and Mary.—William III was a Presbyterian, having been reared in the Reformed Church of Holland. He brought to the throne of England the broad and tolerant principles which were characteristic of his countrymen. In accepting the crown of England, William was bound to accept the headship of the Established Church, and to rule according to the laws previously enacted. It was his desire to have the laws so modified, and the Church so broadened as to make room in it for the Presbyterians; but the narrow bigotry of the Episcopal hierarchy prevented this; and throughout his reign William found himself handicapped in his efforts to secure religious freedom for dissenters. In Scotland, where the Parliament and the majority of the people were Presbyterians, there was no difficulty. They were given a controlling voice in arranging their own affairs, and by the Revolution settlement, all the laws, framed for the purpose of forcing Episcopacy upon that land, were abrogated, and the Presbyterian Church was established as the National Church. There it was the Episcopalians who suffered, and it is not

to be denied that some of the preachers of that Church, who had been foisted on an unwilling people in the previous reigns, were handled very roughly. But conditions in Ireland were just the reverse of those in Scotland. Here the local government was in the hands of the Episcopalians, and their church continued to be, what it had been since the days of Elizabeth, the lawful establishment. The Presbyterians had no legal standing, and while William did what he could for their protection, they suffered not a little annoyance, and at times severe persecution from those who held the reins of power. The king knew of their staunch loyalty, and what that loyalty had cost them in holding Derry and Enniskillen ; also what service they had rendered in helping to win the victories that saved Ireland from the triumph of the papists, and the three kingdoms from the further iniquities and oppressions of James II. He showed his appreciation by hindering, as far as possible, the execution of unrighteous laws and also in a very especial manner by granting them an endowment of twelve hundred pounds *per annum*. Strange to relate, this special mark of favor had been shown them previously by Charles II. In a fit of good-nature, he had commanded this same amount to be paid them, but at the time, the revenues of the kingdom had run so low that only half the amount was actually paid. The payment of this had been irregular, and for quite a while before William renewed the grant, payment had ceased altogether. This *Regium Donum* was expressly designed by William III, as a testimony to "the peaceable and dutiful temper of our said subjects, and their constant labor to unite the hearts of others in zeal and loyalty toward us," and because "we are sensible of the losses they have sustained." With

such protection and aid as William was able to afford the Church, it prospered amazingly. By the time of his death, the presbyteries had increased to nine, these were subordinated to three synods, and the organization of the Church was completed by a General Synod.

Return of Troubles in the Reign of Queen Anne.—William III died in 1702. His death opened the way to the throne for the last of the Stuarts, in the person of Queen Anne. From the accession of James I in 1603, the reign of the Stuart dynasty had been one perpetual calamity to Presbyterians in all the three kingdoms. It lavished its love and its favor on Episcopacy, because it had the making of the bishops, and these, with a shameless truculency, lent themselves to the exaltation of royal prerogative. They taught that the king could do no wrong, and that resistance to the will of the king, under any and all circumstances, was a sin against God.

Queen Anne was no sooner seated on the throne than the condition of the Presbyterians of Ireland changed for the worse. At the request of the Bishop of Derry that the *Regium Donum* should be stopped, or if continued, so distributed as to cause "division and jealousy" among the Presbyterians, the control of it was put in the hands of the lord-lieutenant, with power to give, or withhold, as he should see fit. Before the end of the reign it was entirely withheld.

Iniquity of the Test Act.—In 1704, the Test Act, which for some years had been a blight on dissent in England, was introduced into Ireland. By this act, every one was required to partake of the sacrament in the Established Church as a condition of holding a civil office, or of serving in the militia. The bishops may have hoped by this means to increase the roll of their

communicants ; but, if so, they were doomed to disappointment. Hard as it was for able and loyal men to be excluded from all share in the government of the country which their valor had saved, the Presbyterians preferred exclusion from office to inclusion in a church which had done all that it well could do to earn their hatred. Of the twelve aldermen in Derry, ten lost their office ; fourteen of the twenty-four burgesses, being Presbyterians, were expelled. In Belfast nine out of thirteen burgesses, by refusing to comply with the conditions, forfeited their seats. These samples will serve to show the effect of the Act. In the north of Ireland, the great majority of the Protestant population were Presbyterians. In some regions they were fifty to one. While the parish churches were almost empty, "the Presbyterian meetings were crowded with thousands, covering all the fields." This is the testimony of a dignitary of the Episcopal Church. Where there was such disparity in numbers, it was a great aggravation of their grievance that they must resign the whole administration of civil affairs into the hands of a hostile minority.

Contribution of the Irish Presbyterian Church to America.—We have seen that as early as 1636, the persecuted Presbyterians of Ireland tried to escape to America. God's providence brought their effort to naught. "The fullness of time" had not yet come. But colonies were growing up in the western world, and along with this growth was a growing need of the material that God was preparing in Ireland. In 1681, Francis Makemie was licensed by the Presbytery of Lagan. In response to a call for a preacher, made by Colonel Stephens of the Eastern Shore of Maryland in behalf of that colony, the presbytery ordained Makemie,

sine titulo, and sent him to America. That was the beginning of a stream that trickled until the early years of the next century, when it began to flow in a larger current, and continued to increase in volume till it drained Ireland of about twelve thousand annually, through several successive years. These were from the North of Ireland, and mostly Presbyterians. In considering the work of the Irish Presbyterian Church, we must count as one of its greatest achievements, this contribution to the founding and building up of the American Presbyterian Church, and also to the founding and building up of the American Republic. The foolish and persecuting policy of the English Government wrought this invaluable benefit to the transatlantic colonies.

Internal Troubles From Novelities in Doctrine.—With the death of Queen Anne in 1714, and the accession of George I, the external troubles of the Church were very considerably lightened. But preceding this date some apprehension had been awakened by certain doctrinal divergencies. In 1703, the Church found it necessary to depose the Rev. Thomas Emlyn for preaching Arianism. It was much easier, however, to deal with an error so manifest and so flagrant as this than with other more vague and subtle errors which now began to diffuse themselves. The “Belfast Society” was organized in 1705. It was a clerical club, the object of which was mutual improvement by the discussion of theological, and allied topics. The leading spirit in forming the society and in directing its discussions was the Rev. John Abernethy of Antrim. He was a laborious pastor, a diligent student, and a man of fine literary gifts and taste. In the meetings of the society, many new

views were exploited, some of which crystallized into the outspoken conviction that sincerity was the true and only test of one's religious state; that only errors willfully held were culpable; and that it was a sin against personal liberty to require subscription to a creed. A sermon preached by Mr. Abernethy in 1719 brought him prominently to the front as the champion of these views. It awakened a controversy that was carried on through the press and in the Church courts for many years. The synod passed a number of acts of a temporizing character to allay the irritation, and to stop the growing dissensions, but these failed of their good intent. Matters grew worse rather than better. Rev. Samuel Halliday refused to sign the Confession of Faith, but presented instead, a declaration of faith prepared by himself. The majority of the presbytery expressed themselves satisfied, and installed him pastor at Belfast. The minority carried the matter by complaint to synod. That body rebuked the majority, but when these declared that their consciences would not permit them to "subscribe to the Confession of Faith, or submit to the act of synod," nothing further was done in the case. At the meeting of the General Synod in 1721, seventeen memorials were presented from as many sessions, asking that all the members of all Church courts be required to sign the Confession of Faith. The synod contented itself by simply resolving to permit all members of the court to subscribe the Confession, hoping by this means to quiet the apprehension felt throughout the Church. The Belfast Society argued against even this voluntary subscription; but an overwhelming majority favored it, and nearly all the members of the synod who were present signed the Confession. Some, however, refused, and this gave rise

to the party names, "subscribers," and "nonsubscribers." Four years later the synod tried another method of healing the contentions which were all the while widening and deepening. It formed the Presbytery of Antrim on the elective affinity principle, and into this presbytery it endeavored to gather all the nonsubscribers. By this quarantine measure, it was hoped, but vainly hoped, to prevent the contagion of lax doctrine from spreading more widely. This arrangement was to continue "until the God of peace shall mercifully remove present misunderstandings." But the very next year it was deemed advisable to resort to a more drastic remedy, and the synod cut off the diseased member. This brave act of surgery was performed largely through the votes of the ruling elders.

Coming of the Seceder Church of Scotland into Ireland.—Not even the cutting off of the Presbytery of Antrim from the communion of the Church prevented the spread of lax doctrinal views. It was a time of sad spiritual declension in both England and Scotland. With the decline of spiritual life in those two kingdoms, doctrinal divergences grew up. Arianism and Socinianism were widely prevalent, and were treated leniently. Ireland was too closely related to those two countries, and especially to Scotland, to remain unaffected by their condition. It was from Scotland that the Irish Church continued to receive her supply of ministers, sending her own sons there to be educated.

Hence it happened that God had to provide a more effective method than any yet tried for the preservation of a pure faith in Ireland. His method was to bring in the conservative seceders from Erskine's Church in Scotland. A little handful of people at Lylehill, near

Belfast made application to be taken under care of the Associate Presbytery of Scotland. After several temporary supplies had been sent to them by that presbytery, it ordained over them as pastor the Rev. Isaac Patton in 1746. This was the beginning of the Secession Church in Ireland. It grew with considerable rapidity, so that a presbytery was organized on the 12th of April, 1750. Before this date, the Mother Church in Scotland had split into Burgher and Anti-Burgher. The struggling infant in Ireland had to follow the maternal example; and consequently another presbytery was formed on the 24th of July, 1751, bearing the name of Burgher, while the presbytery previously formed rejoiced in the name of Anti-Burgher. In course of time, however, these divisions were healed; and despite strenuous opposition from various quarters, the Secession Church grew into a position of great influence, and that influence was exerted in behalf of conservative orthodoxy. It was the salt that preserved Presbyterianism in Ireland from total putrefaction. Apparently it was rapidly degenerating into the same lifeless Unitarianism, into which the Presbyterianism of England had descended. As it was, Arianism continued to taint a large proportion of the Presbyterian ministry, and to perpetuate in the Church the troubles which began in 1719 with Mr. Abernethy. The advocates of sound doctrine had sufficient numerical strength to purge the lump of the leaven, but they lacked the spiritual earnestness necessary to call into exercise that strength.

The Church Finally Purged Under the Leadership of Henry Cooke.—With the incoming of the nineteenth century, there was the incoming of a more ardent, religious life. In connection with this blessing there

came another, an effective leader in the person of Henry Cooke. He was the greatest individual gift, perhaps, which God has ever bestowed on the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. He was born in 1788, educated at Glasgow College, and ordained to the ministry in 1808. He soon displayed great intellectual force, deep piety and splendid gifts of oratory. About the year 1821, he began a warfare against Arianism, and he waged this warfare with persistent purpose and unrelenting rigor until it terminated in a victory for orthodoxy, glorious and complete. In 1829, the Arians withdrew, and formed a separate body, taking the name of the Remonstrant Synod. In 1836, an act was passed by the general synod of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, requiring that every one entering the ministry, or eldership, should subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith. On this high, firm ground the synod then planted itself, and from that ground the Presbyterian Church of Ireland has never to this day suffered itself to be moved.

Union of Different Presbyterian Bodies.—Having purged itself thoroughly from lax doctrine, it was recognized that there was no difference between the Synod of Ulster, and the Secession Synod, which should longer keep them apart. Negotiations looking to union were opened up in 1839, and the next year saw the union happily consummated. The congregations of the Synod of Ulster numbered two hundred and ninety-two, and those of the Secession Synod one hundred and forty-one. The consolidation of the two bodies formed what has since been known as the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. A few scattering congregations in the south and east of Ireland, which had been gathered into the Synod of Munster, joined the assembly in 1854.

Religious Life and Activity of the United Church.—The work of this homogeneous and conservative Church has made itself powerfully felt in many fields. It has carried on successful foreign missions in India, and among the Jews, and a vigorous home mission work in diffusing evangelical religion throughout its native land. The church has two excellent theological schools,—Magee College at Londonderry, and the Assembly's College at Belfast.

One much needed work to which the Church began to address itself about the year 1829, was the work of Temperance Reform. "The use of whiskey was at this time almost universal, and seemed to be rapidly growing. During the ten years ending with 1829, the consumption of intoxicating liquor in the three kingdoms doubled. The bottle was everywhere—on the dinner table, and the supper table, at the wedding, and at the wake, at the baptism and the funeral, produced as regularly as the Bible when the minister called to visit a parishioner, kept in the vestry of nearly every church, and applied to before service, or after, or both. In a word, it was supposed to be an absolute necessity of life—as necessary as the staff of life itself. Ministers and people alike drank; the elders drank; everybody drank." The suggestion for reform came from America, where the first temperance societies had recently been formed. Dr. John Edgar led the movement, and began by emptying a jug of his own from his parlor window. The first pledge required abstinence only from distilled liquor. But later, the pledge was made more rigid, including all intoxicating drinks. The sentiment of the Church was gradually revolutionized, and now five sixths of the ministers, and nearly all the theological students are committed to total abstinence.

In conjunction with the government, a great work has been accomplished in behalf of public education. In the province of Connaught, forty thousand poor children have been educated. Another work of beneficence is carried on through the Orphan Society. Three thousand children are cared for at an expense of \$50,000 annually.

Church Endowment.—The *Regium Donum*, which had its origin in a gift of six hundred pounds from Charles II, was enlarged from time to time until it amounted to £39,000 *per annum*. In 1869, the Parliament passed an act, commuting the *Regium Donum* to a lump sum of £587,735. This constitutes a permanent endowment, yielding about £25,000 *per annum*. At once a movement was set on foot to raise a sustentation fund by the voluntary contributions of the people, to supplement the government grant. The movement resulted in adding an additional £25,000 to the annual income of the Church. From this permanent resource of £50,000, the salaries of the ministers are paid, supplemented by the congregations as their ability and the circumstances of the minister may determine.

Instrumental Music in Worship.—Beginning with the year 1868, when a harmonium was introduced into the congregation of Enniskillen, the Church entered on a period of high debate on the subject of instrumental music in worship, lasting eighteen years. A truce was then agreed upon for three years, on condition that a committee, composed of those who favored the use of instruments, should be appointed to persuade, if possible, congregations into which instruments had been introduced to dispense with them. The final outcome, however, has been to leave the matter of instrument, or no instrument, discretionary with each congregation.

As a concluding word, it may be safely said that the Presbyterian Church of Ireland is one of the most thoroughly orthodox, consistently conservative, and healthfully active of all the churches in the great brotherhood of like faith and order.

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLAND AND WALES

I. The Presbyterian Church of England.—The origin and development of Presbyterianism in England were peculiar and are somewhat difficult to trace. It was smothered down, and almost smothered out by the superincumbent weight of royal and episcopal intolerance. Until the period of the Commonwealth, when for a time the Puritans had matters their own way, Presbyterianism was little more than a theory. Its advocates tried, indeed, to give it practical effect, but without breaking with the Established Church, and within the very narrow limits allowed by that church to liberty of dissent. It was like trying to grow a flower garden on a window sill, or rear a forest of oaks in a greenhouse. The poor cramped product was feeble and defective. Not only was the space too small, but the environment was unfriendly. The patrons of Presbyterianism had to show their love for it stealthily, and nurse its sickly and deformed life under cover, as if guilty of a crime. So careful were they to conceal their doings that they left few records behind them; and this increases the difficulty of tracing their history.

The Act of Uniformity, 1559.—When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558 it was expected that she would blot out, as far as possible, the sad effects of the policy of her predecessor's bloody reign, take up the work of the Reformation where the death of Edward VI had inter-

rupted it, and carry it out to a glorious conclusion. This expectation was grievously disappointed. It is true that she, in a measure, undid the work of Mary, but she threw her imperious will across all efforts to carry the Reformation any farther than it had already gone. Utterly destitute of religious sentiment, she availed herself of her position as head of the Church to make ecclesiastical affairs subservient to her ideas of statecraft. Instead of adopting a thoroughgoing Protestant policy, she chose a compromise position with the hope of conciliating her large body of Roman Catholic subjects. "The liturgy, after being stripped of some phrases likely to prove offensive to Romish ears, and brought into closer affinity to the popish missal, was fixed down by Parliamentary statute." In 1559 the Act of Uniformity was passed, forbidding the slightest deviation from the prayer book in the conduct of service in the Church. Thus the worship of the Church was stereotyped, and compliance with this form was enforced by the civil power. There were many in the Church, and among them some noted for learning and piety, whose consciences were troubled by certain of the prescribed rites and ceremonies, which savored of popish superstition and idolatry. The effect of the Act of Uniformity was to draw these earnest reformers closer together, and to form them into what was henceforth known as the Puritan party. Presbyterianism had its development in this party.

External Influence Favorable to English Presbyterianism.—The first English reformers maintained a close and friendly relation with the reformers of the continent, and especially with the Swiss reformers. Many of them took refuge in the cities of Switzerland during the Marian persecution. These became acquainted with

the model of church government instituted by Calvin. Indeed, Miles Coverdale, one of the noblest of them all, acted as an "humble elder in John Knox's Church in Geneva." These exiles hastened home when Elizabeth came to the throne, naturally supposing that their day had at length come. Sad was their disappointment at the course pursued by their new sovereign; and when she insisted on retaining in the English Church the mediæval ceremonies, vestments, and ritual, "the bag and baggage" of popery, they found themselves entirely out of sympathy with their environment. For a time, the Act of Uniformity was not strictly executed, and these earnest reformers were permitted to pursue their pastoral duties unmolested. But in a few years more stringent measures were taken, and then a number of these devoted men consented to be suspended or deposed from office rather than conform. Such tyranny developed a more radical opposition on the part of the Puritans, and made them long for the freer and more scriptural type of church government with which they had become acquainted on the continent.

Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603).—Presbyterianism needed an expounder and a champion, and one was raised up in the person of Thomas Cartwright. He was a graduate of Cambridge, and was made Lady Margaret professor of divinity in 1569, and began to lecture on the Acts of the Apostles. It was soon found that his expositions of Scripture would prove destructive of the Episcopal establishment, for he professed to find an entirely different form of government provided for the Church by the apostles. He laid down six propositions which formed the platform of the Presbyterian party: (1) "That the names and functions of archbishops and

archdeacons ought to be abolished. (2) That the offices of the lawful ministers of the Church, viz., bishops and deacons, ought to be reduced to their apostolic institution; bishops to preach the word of God and pray, and deacons to be employed in taking care of the poor. (3) That the government of the Church ought not to be intrusted to bishop's chancellors, or the officials of archdeacons; but every church ought to be governed by its own minister and presbyters. (4) That ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have charge of a particular congregation. (5) That no man ought to solicit, or to stand as a candidate for the ministry. (6) That ministers ought not to be created by the sole authority of the bishop, but to be openly and fairly chosen by the people." For such wholesome teachings as these he was ousted from his professorship, and sought refuge from persecution, by crossing to the continent. He went to Geneva, where by intercourse with Theodore Beza, he had his Presbyterian convictions deepened. He returned to England, and took the leading part in a bitter controversy, stretching through years, between the Puritans and Prelatists.

The Presbytery of Wandsworth, 1572.—The first attempt which the Presbyterians made to give practical effect to their principles was in the fall of 1572, at Wandsworth, a suburban parish of London. This they did, not by separating from the establishment, but by trying to create an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*. They attempted substantially what Wesley attempted two centuries later, to organize societies in the Church for the purpose of purifying the morals and nourishing the piety of the members. Eleven elders were chosen; and these, together with the Rev. John Field, constituted a kind of church

session, or congregational presbytery. They did not assume jurisdiction, however, over the entire parish of Wandsworth, but only over those who voluntarily placed themselves under their supervision. No minutes of their proceedings have been preserved; but it is manifest from the literature of the period that they adopted in the outset a book of discipline. This was known as the "Order of Wandsworth," but no copy of it has come down to us. This parochial presbytery of Wandsworth was the model, and its book of discipline the basis, of hundreds of other parochial organizations throughout England. These organizations were formed with as little noise as possible, and the effort was made to carry out their purpose without disturbing the settled order of the establishment. But the queen and her bishops were watching them like a hawk watching the chickens, ready to pounce upon them at any moment, and destroy them.

The Prophesyings.—This is the name, given to meetings of the clergy for conference, for mutual help, and Scripture-exposition. Froude gives an account of these meetings as held in the Church of Northampton as early as the year 1571. "On Saturdays, the ministers of the different neighborhoods assembled to compare opinions, and discuss difficult texts; and once a quarter all the clergy of the county for mutual survey of their own general behavior. Offenses given or taken were mentioned, explanations heard, and reproof administered when necessary." Ministers who took part in these meetings were required to declare by subscription their "consent in Christ's true religion, with their brethren, and submit to the discipline and order of the same." It will be seen from this language that these meetings were distinct organizations. Among other things they made it

their business both to confer about, and to practice discipline. They took steps to organize parochial presbyteries; and in a general way, as circumstances permitted, they performed the function of classical presbyteries. Like the lesser organizations of their creation, they felt it necessary to carry on their work stealthily. For example, we read: "There was an assembly of threescore ministers appointed out of Essex, Cambridgeshire, and Norfolk, to meet the 8th day of May, 1582, at Cockfield, there to confer of the Common Book, what might be tolerated and what necessarily to be refused in every point of it, apparel, matter, form, days, fastings, injunctions, etc. Of this meeting it is reported, *Our meeting was appointed to be kept very secretly and to be made known to none.*" It is obvious that Presbyterianism could have no healthy development, nor reach any large proportions when it was felt that all manifestations of its life must be kept a profound secret. Still it was growing and its principles had found clear and definite expression in the "Book of Discipline." This book is supposed to be the outgrowth of the "Order of Wandsworth," which was revised, corrected and enlarged from time to time in the numerous conferences which were held during the years between the setting up of the Presbytery of Wandsworth, and the printing of the book in 1584. It was first written in Latin, and then translated into English by Thomas Cartwright. It was reprinted in 1644 for the use of the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly, with the title: "A Directory of Church Government. Anciently contended for, and as far as the times would suffer, practiced by the first Nonconformists in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Found in the study of the most accomplished divine, Thomas Cart-

wright after his decease, and reserved to be published for such a time as this. Published by Authority. London: printed for John Wright in the Old Bailly, 1644."

The Growing Opposition of the Queen.—Few Popes have been more determined, or more zealous in putting down heresy than was Queen Elizabeth in suppressing all liberty of worship and of ecclesiastical administration. The Act of Supremacy put the Church absolutely under her power. This act was supplemented by another creating the Court of High Commission, an agency through which the queen's supremacy could be made effective. The queen appointed the members of this court, and its jurisdiction and powers resembled very closely the famous Spanish Court of Inquisition. It could arrest all suspects, and if witnesses were wanting, it could apply torture. Lord Burleigh, one of Elizabeth's great ministers, compared it to the Spanish Inquisition, and accorded it the preëminence as an instrument of unrighteousness. It was a fit instrument for the queen's overbearing and arbitrary disposition. She found an admirable engineer for it in the person of Whitgift, her archbishop. When it was discovered that the prophesyings and the presbyteries were spreading, and their influence growing, despite the milder measures of repression that were used, at the instance of the archbishop the queen reorganized the Court of High Commission, and inaugurated a more vigorous crusade. In a short while, more than two hundred ministers were suspended, and these were described by the Earl of Leicester as among the most faithful and laborious of the clergy. It was no concern to the queen that the people were deprived of the services of these godly men. She said two or three preachers to the county were sufficient. She

seemed to think that all could be saved who were worth saving by means of the prayer book and the homilies. She and her "little black parson" held on their way until all of Presbyterianism that dared to show itself was crushed out. It probably reached its highest organized development when as many as 500 clergymen had signed the "Book of Discipline," and when defective parochial presbyteries after the pattern of Wandsworth had been set up in quite a number of counties over the kingdom.

Presbyterianism During the Reigns of James I and Charles I.—When Elizabeth died in 1603, her cousin, James I, came down from Scotland to take her place. He had been reared a Presbyterian; and on one occasion when he wished to make himself peculiarly agreeable to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, he declared that the Presbyterian Church was the "sincerest kirk in the world," and that the Episcopal Church was but an "ill-said mass in English." But things looked differently when he came to be head of the English Establishment with a set of truculent bishops to help him to realize his ideas of the "divine right of kings." Then it seemed to him that nothing was more certainly destructive of royal prerogative than the form of church government under which he had been reared. He promptly announced this conviction, and declared his purpose to grant no tolerance to dissent from the prayer book. Throughout his reign of twenty-two years, the spirit of discontent did not slumber. The desire for a more liberal policy grew more intense and widespread. But there was no further attempt to organize the discontented elements along Presbyterian lines.

With the incoming of Charles I in 1625, there arose to a position of great and growing influence an ecclesiastic

who by developing the tyrannical tendency of Episcopacy to the utmost contributed to the rapid growth of Presbyterian sentiment. William Laud, elevated to the See of Canterbury in 1633, attempted by the most cruel and arbitrary methods to crush out dissent. His policy culminated in an effort to force a fully-developed Episcopacy on Scotland. This precipitated a revolt; and this led to the king's calling the Long Parliament. Then followed the civil war, the abrogation of the Episcopal Church, and the overthrow of the monarchy.

The Westminster Assembly.—On the 13th of June, 1643, the Parliament passed an ordinance with the following title: "An ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines and others, to be consulted with by the Parliament for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing the doctrine of said Church from false aspersions and interpretations." The ordinance specified for this advisory assembly one hundred and twenty-one divines, and thirty laymen, ten of these to be taken from the House of Lords, and twenty from the House of Commons. As the object of the assembly was to assist Parliament in devising a new National Church to take the place of the prelatical system which had been abolished, Parliament very wisely sought to have a variety of views represented. Hence the assembly contained four distinct parties. There were some who preferred Episcopacy; others, who had submitted to Episcopacy, serving parish churches in the establishment, but who were by conviction Presbyterians; others, who had left the Established Church and were known as Independents; and others, who were opposed to any and every form of church

government, believing that all administration of ecclesiastical affairs should be in the hands of the civil magistrate—these were designated Erastians. The assembly was in the fullest sense the creature of Parliament. It had its work cut out for it by Parliament; its method of procedure was prescribed; and its conclusions were of force only when ratified by Parliament. Four bishops were nominated to the assembly; but as the king was already at war with Parliament, and had forbidden the meeting of the assembly, these bishops declined to take part in it, and along with them all the thoroughgoing Episcopalians. The assembly, therefore, as actually constituted, was composed of Presbyterians, Independents and Erastians.

The Meeting of the Assembly, and Its Work.—The assembly met on the first day of July, 1643, in the Abbey Church of Westminster; and was opened with a sermon by Dr. Twisse, from the text (John 14: 18): “I will not leave you comfortless.” There were present sixty-nine members of the assembly, both houses of Parliament, and a great congregation of others. After the sermon, the members of the assembly adjourned to the chapel of Henry VII. There the ordinance, calling them together, was read; the roll was called; and then they adjourned for a few days to give Parliament time to prepare work for them. When they reassembled, they organized for work by distributing the whole assembly into three committees, to each of which was assigned a specific work. The first task committed to them was the revision of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. They wrought on this from July till the following October. In the meantime an alliance had been formed with Scotland, on the basis of the Solemn League and Covenant. This brought to the assembly six commis-

sioners from the Church of Scotland; and committed Parliament to a new undertaking. In signing the Solemn League and Covenant, the Parliament engaged to endeavor to bring about a general uniformity in religion of the three churches of England, Scotland and Ireland. To carry into effect this engagement, it ordered the assembly to lay aside the work of revising the Thirty-nine Articles and to enter upon the work of constructing *de novo* articles of faith, a form of government, rules of discipline and a directory of worship. The assembly lost no time in entering on this arduous and most important task. The work of framing all these formularies was carried on simultaneously, sometimes the one receiving special attention, sometimes another. As the prayer book had been abolished, the most urgent demand was a directory of worship, and a form of ordination, that the many vacant churches might be supplied with properly-constituted pastors. These two matters engaged most of the attention of the assembly until they were finished. After these in order of completion came the Form of Government, Confession of Faith, and the two Catechisms. The time occupied on the various tasks was five years and six months; and the number of sessions held for their consideration was eleven hundred and sixty-three.

Result of the Assembly's Work.—On the 19th of June, 1647, the Parliament ordained “that all parishes within England and Wales be brought under the government of congregational, classical, provincial and national churches according to the form of Presbyterial government agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.” In carrying this into effect the kingdom was to be divided into sixty synods; these were to be cut up

into classical presbyteries; and the whole was to be topped with a National Assembly. The presbyteries were to meet monthly; the synods semiannually, and the General Assembly annually. Thus the machinery was perfected, and orders were issued that it be put into operation. It seemed as if the brightest hopes of the Presbyterians were to be realized. But such a consummation was not to be. The strange sequel of the history is that the Westminster Assembly performed a work of inestimable and permanent value for the Presbyterians of Scotland, of Ireland, of the United States of America, of the world at large, but a work which proved of almost no practical value to the Presbyterians of England, the very persons for whom it was especially designed. Presbyterianism, as a legal establishment, took possession of a very small part of its territory, and had a very short career. A provincial synod was set up in London, which met for the first time on the 3d of May, 1647; and for the last time, probably, on the 15th of August, 1660. Thirteen years was the extreme limit of its age; and only in London did it have anything like so long a tenure of life as that. In fact, the only other place where it went into full operation was in the County of Lancashire. There a synod was formed, and the county divided into nine presbyteries. Futile attempts were made in a few other counties to start the machinery to going; but over the larger part of England there seems not to have been any serious effort to make the Presbyterian Establishment effective.

Reasons for the Failure of Presbyterianism as a National Institution.—In the first place, it was national only by act of Parliament. The majority of the English nation knew nothing by experience of Presbyterianism,

and cared nothing for it as a theory. They knew it as a Scotch commodity, and the fact that it was Scotch did not by any means commend it to their favorable regard. They might have suffered it to be thrust upon them by Parliament, but they were not eager to coöperate with Parliament. In the second place, Parliament tacked on an Erastian feature to the work of the Westminster Assembly which dampened the ardor of the great leaders of that body. The Westminster divines framed a government for the Church which was designed to give it autonomy. In other words, they made provision for the Church to govern itself; and they were zealous for the self-government of the Church. But Parliament determined to keep all reins of power in its own hands, and so reserved to all church members the right of appeal from the censures of the Church to the civil power. The Erastians who were defeated in the assembly carried the day in Parliament. Very naturally the Presbyterians were not over-zealous to give effect to a church polity that was thus disfigured with the obnoxious feature against which they had so earnestly contended. They cared little for the establishment of a church government which was deprived of the power to determine the qualifications of its own members. In the third place, the crowning and all-sufficient reason for the failure of the Presbyterians to carry into effect their system was the ascendancy of Cromwell. He was an Independent and sympathized with all the other Independents in their jealousy of the Presbyterians. He believed, and had some ground for believing that were the Presbyterians permitted to exercise the power for which they contended, the Independents along with other sectaries would suffer from their intolerance.

The Presbyterian Theory of Church and State.—While the Presbyterians claimed the right to govern the Church independently of the state, they also believed that a national church should have the coöperation of the civil power in suppressing dissent. Just how far they would have used persecuting measures to punish nonconformity, we can never know. Their enemies, prominent among whom was the illustrious Milton, exerted themselves to make it appear that the cause of liberty would gain nothing, but rather be the loser, if a Presbyterian Establishment, with full power to work its own will, were substituted for the old tyrannical church of Laud which had been abolished. Cromwell reached the summit of power just in time to prevent the experiment from being made. He laid his iron hand on Church affairs, and the enactments of Parliament, favoring Presbyterianism went for nothing. His temper toward the Presbyterians was not improved by their formal and earnest protest against the execution of the king. Moreover, they were strongly suspected of sympathizing with the Scots when the latter rose in favor of Charles II. One of their number, Christopher Love, was tried, convicted and executed, on the charge of secretly abetting the rising in Scotland; and one or two others barely escaped the same fate.

Restoration of Monarchy and Episcopacy, 1660.—The Presbyterians, having been thwarted in their aims and expectations, were heartily tired of the commonwealth and vied with the Episcopalians in their eagerness to welcome Charles II to the throne. So eager were they that they neglected to provide any sufficient guarantee for the protection of their liberty. The result was that they soon found themselves at the mercy of an unprincipled king, dominated by resentful and uncompromising

Episcopalians. The restoration of the monarchy carried with it the restoration of the old establishment. The bishops and others who had suffered from the abolition of prelacy counted that their day had come. The king had promised in a famous "Declaration," sent to Parliament from his place of exile, that if he should be restored to his father's throne "no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."

The Savoy Conference.—As if he meant to keep this promise, and by way of showing that he was not altogether ungrateful to the Presbyterians for their conspicuous loyalty, the king appointed a conference to be held at the Savoy Palace between the Prelatists and the Presbyterians to see if a satisfactory basis of compromise might not be arranged. When the conference met, it soon became evident that whatever might be the mind of the king, the minds of the bishops were distinctly and strongly against any compromise. The Presbyterians showed a willingness to accept a modified Episcopacy; but the resentful prelates would not agree to the slightest concessions. The old establishment must be restored precisely as it was before the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640, with its Thirty-nine Articles, and its prayer book unaltered in the slightest particular.

The Act of Uniformity, 1662.—The reactionary tide in favor of royalty which had brought the king back to the throne continued to swell until it became a perfect tidal wave, sweeping all before it. The Parliament which met in 1662 was impatient to wipe out every trace of the recent commonwealth. To set at rest all questions of religious compromise, they passed an "Act of Uniform-

ity," which required that every minister who had not received Episcopal ordination should be reordained; and that every minister should on or before the 24th of August following "declare his unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained in the book of common prayer," on pain of being deprived of his benefice. By this act, which went into effect on St. Bartholomew's Day, a day made forever memorable by the massacre of the Huguenots of France, upwards of two thousand ministers, the majority of whom were Presbyterians were driven out bare, roofless, and shiftless upon the wide world." From this time forth, Presbyterianism was without any organization beyond that of the congregation. As respects the congregation, the practice was not uniform of having elders. The exercise of discipline was largely in the hands of the pastor, with whom was associated sometimes deputies, or committeemen. There were no superior courts. Ordinations of ministers were performed by associations of neighboring pastors.

The Revolution of 1688.—When James II was expelled from the throne, and William of Orange came over from Holland to take his place, the condition of all dissenting bodies was much improved. In 1690 the "Toleration Act" was passed which permitted freedom of worship to dissenters who secured a license for their "meeting houses," and reported the same to the bishops. This led to quite a revival of church life among both the Presbyterians and Independents. While suffering together through a number of years the old spirit of hostile rivalry between these two bodies largely died out. For the sake of common interests, they drew close together, and sought for a *modus vivendi*, by which, if they could not become identified as one body, they could coöperate ef-

fectively in the preservation and propagation of a vigorous Protestantism. There was formed by the ministers of the two bodies in London what was called the "Happy Union" in 1691; and speedily similar unions were formed in other parts of the land. The basis of the union was a document, known as "Heads of Agreement," in which both parties made concessions. There was the prospect of a permanent consolidation; but before the union had time to set and solidify, a violent controversy broke out over a book, of which Dr. Daniel Williams, a distinguished Presbyterian, was the author, and the object of which was to combat Antinomianism. An Independent minister assaulted the book on the ground that it went to the other extreme and substituted law for gospel. Thus the strife was started, and before it ended the "Happy Union" in London was shivered to atoms; and throughout the country the two denominations were driven apart. Ever since, they have continued to travel in different paths. While the Presbyterians were eased during the reign of William and Mary, and developed considerable congregational life, building many "meeting houses," they made no attempt to revive the series of courts which are essential to fully-organized Presbyterianism. They believed in a National Establishment, and while occupying the position of dissent, they would not try to give national form to their own Church.

Doctrinal Declension.—About the opening of the eighteenth century, a blight seemed to fall on evangelical piety throughout all the Protestant churches of Europe. As always happens, a lowering of the tone of piety was accompanied by laxity of doctrinal views. Arminianism, which had long since obtained a foothold in the Church of England, found its way into the dissenting churches.

This was followed by Arianism, high and low, and ended in the most outspoken and aggressive Socinianism. When in 1753, Samuel Davies and Gilbert Tennent went to England to solicit funds for Princeton College, they were greatly distressed over the degeneracy of the Presbyterians. Their application for aid for the young institution was met with the objection "that the principles inculcated in the college of New Jersey are generally looked upon as antiquated and unfashionable by the dissenters in England." Samuel Davies wrote that "The Presbyterians particularly, being generally Arminians or Socinians, seem shy of us." The character of these degenerate sons of noble sires grew from bad to worse till the close of the eighteenth century. Along with decline in piety and doctrinal soundness there was a decline in numbers. A reliable computation puts the number of Presbyterian congregations in 1715 at 550. The same authority puts the number in 1772 at 302, and these divided about equally between orthodox and heterodox. This number continued to diminish until nearly everything worthy of the name Presbyterian became extinct.

What were the causes of this sad and fatal degeneracy and decay?

(1) A deliberate rejection of tests of orthodoxy. When the first symptoms of doctrinal laxness appeared, it created an alarm, and soon led to the calling of a meeting at Salter's Hall, London. There the question of requiring subscription to a doctrinal test was long and fiercely debated. When the vote was taken, it was decided by a majority of four that it would be an unwarrantable interference with Christian liberty to require subscription to any uninspired statement of doctrine. This convention was composed of both Independents and

Presbyterians, the latter in a majority. On inspecting the vote it was found that nearly all the Independents were for subscription, while the vast majority of Presbyterians were opposed to it. This was remarkable, that the denomination which had the honor of framing the Westminster Standards deliberately refused to require subscription to them as a condition precedent to preaching in a Presbyterian pulpit. Thus the door was opened to the inroads of heresy.

(2) Want of an organization for the exercise of discipline. There were no courts above the session, and therefore the orthodox portion of the ministry was powerless to purge the body of heresy when once it became affected.

(3) Lowering of the educational standard of the ministry. One of the severest blows struck at the Presbyterians was closing the universities against all nonconformists. Those who laid the foundations of Presbyterianism in England, and nursed it into its largest growth, from the days of Cartwright down to the close of the seventeenth century, were University men. But those coming later received only such training as the poorly-equipped schools, founded in the emergency by dissenters, could afford. This distinct lowering of the scholarship and dignity of the Presbyterian pulpit caused the loss of social influence, and at the same time contributed to the decline of doctrinal purity.

Thus "under the chilling influences of civil persecution, social ostracism, and spiritual infidelity, Presbyterianism in the eighteenth century drooped, and all but died. Isolated congregations remained throughout the country which were Presbyterian in name, but with a few bright exceptions, they had adopted the Uni-

tarian creed, and the Congregational mode of government."

Resuscitation and Reorganization of Presbyterianism.—Early in the nineteenth century a brighter day dawned on the feeble remnant of the Presbyterian Church of England. Several influences were helpful to its revival and growth. In the first place, the great Wesleyan revival had infused a large measure of evangelical fervor into the church life of England. This was felt especially among the dissenting bodies; and the scattered congregations of Presbyterians that were more or less loyal to the faith of the fathers began to strengthen the things that remained, and were ready to die. In the second place, the revival of evangelical piety in the churches of Scotland, which put an end to the long and blighting reign of Moderatism, contributed to a like revival in those churches in England which were closely united in sympathy with the Presbyterianism of Scotland. In the northern counties of England, bordering on Scotland, there were quite a number of the old English churches which through all the vicissitudes of intervening years had maintained the Westminster type of Presbyterianism in its purity, in so far, at least, as their circumstances would permit. They had sent their sons to the Scotch universities to be trained for their pulpits; and they had also been served by ministers from the Scotch churches. In the third place there was an increasing number of immigrants from Scotland, settling in the great centers of English population. These sometimes formed churches of their own; and sometimes cast in their lot with the English survivals. In either case they helped to draw ministers from the Scotch churches.

Organization of Presbyterianism in England.—Stim-

ulated by these various healthful influences, the growth of Presbyterianism in England has been marked, and the future is bright with promise. It was found that by the year 1836 there was a sufficient number of churches holding fast to the Westminster standards and served by ministers of the established Church of Scotland to form a synod. When the disruption of the Church of Scotland occurred in 1843, this synod sympathized with the Free Church, and severed its connection with the Scotch Establishment. There were a number of other Presbyterian churches in England served by ministers of the Secession Church of Scotland, or, after 1844, the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. In 1863 these churches organized a synod. Then there were two separate and distinct Presbyterian synods in England, independent of outside churches, and also independent of each other. They held precisely the same doctrines and polity. A few years of brotherly intercourse made it evident that there was no reason why they should continue to live apart. In 1876, they became one by mutual and happy consent. Since that auspicious event the united body has grown very rapidly; and to-day the English Presbyterian Church stands forth a strong, well-organized, well-equipped division of the sacramental host. It has its college and theological seminary, bearing the proud name of Westminster, planted within the sacred environs of historic old Cambridge. Scattered throughout the world are multiplied thousands of Presbyterians who pay homage to the truth as it is expressed in the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms; and these all look with peculiar interest on the Church which inherits the name and the traditions of the fathers who gave them these standards. They rejoice in the

present vigor, and future outlook of English Presbyterianism.

When the disruption occurred in the Church of Scotland, and the English Presbyterians, out of sympathy with the Free Church, severed their connection with the Church of Scotland, a small fragment remained faithful, and still continue in organic relation with the Church of Scotland. They are distributed in three presbyteries, and have about three thousand five hundred communicants.

II. THE CALVINISTIC METHODIST CHURCH OF WALES

Origin of the Name.—This title may seem a contradiction in terms to those who have been long accustomed to associate "Methodist" with "Arminian." In its origin the term "Methodist" had nothing to do with doctrine; but signified a manner of Christian living. It was applied to the church in Wales because that church had its rise about the same time with English Methodism, and the two movements were closely and sympathetically related, and adopted substantially the same means for promoting spiritual life. In doctrine, however, it differed from the societies organized by Wesley, and to indicate this difference the term "Calvinistic" was used. The church may be described as Calvinistic in doctrine, Presbyterian in polity, and Methodist in worship and life.

The Beginnings of Welsh Methodism.—The apathy which, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, laid its paralyzing touch on the rest of Protestant Christendom, was manifest in Wales. But the signs of reviving life were witnessed sooner here than elsewhere in Great Britain. The dawn of a brighter day was due to the very earnest labors of the Rev. Griffith Jones, who commenced his ministry in 1716. In addition to abundant

seed-sowing through his faithful preaching, he organized a system of circulating schools in which young and old were instructed in the Bible. His work was thus an admirable preparation for the soul-stirring evangelists who were to follow a little later. His Bible schools increased till they numbered 215, into which were gathered more than 8,000 scholars.

The Great Revival Beginning in 1735.—The first directly evangelistic efforts were put forth by Howell Harris. He was educated at Oxford, and purposed to be ordained to the ministry. The flame of devotion burned fiercely in his heart, and he delivered his message with a force and a fervor that startled men out of their carnal security. When he applied for ordination, he was refused. He continued his work as a layman. God wrought with him; and before either Whitefield or Wesley had stirred the smoldering embers in England into a flame, Howell Harris had, under the blessing of God, set nearly the whole of South Wales on fire. He began his work about the year 1735, and four years later, there were thirty societies organized as the fruit of his labors. These were not churches, but companies of Christians, outwardly connected with the English Episcopal Church, but holding their own regular meetings for mutual edification. They were subjected to considerable persecutions from those who looked up on their methods as hurtful innovations. They persisted in their work, however, and their first General Association was held at Watford, Glamorganshire, January 5, 1742, two years prior to the first Conference of English Methodists at London.

Other Distinguished Helpers.—Harris had not been preaching long before God gave him a like-minded assist-

ant in the person of the Rev. Daniel Rowlands. He was admitted to orders in the English Church in 1733, but, according to his own testimony, was not converted until five years later. Rowlands was a preacher of extraordinary power, accounted by some as second only to Whitefield. Bishop Ryle speaks of him as "one of the giants of the eighteenth century." It was largely through his ministry that North Wales was soon sharing in the revival that brought such blessings to South Wales. Often he preached in the open fields to audiences numbering several thousands.

Other preachers of great spiritual power were soon added to the evangelistic force. Among them, the most prominent were William Williams, Howell Davies and John Evans. William Williams was the poet of the movement, doing for the Methodists of Wales the same service, only in less eminent degree, which Charles Wesley did for the Methodism of England. In 1739, George Whitefield made a preaching tour through many of the towns of Wales, and gave a strong impetus to the revival movement. At this time he first met Harris, and writes: "I was much refreshed with a sight of my dear brother, Howell Harris, whom I knew not in person, but long loved in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and on whose behalf I have often felt my soul drawn out in prayer."

Of all the blessings which God bestowed upon Wales, in the gift of great and good men, perhaps the greatest was the gift of the Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala. His warm evangelical piety put him out of sympathy with the English Church, and for this reason he cast in his lot with the Welsh Calvinists, joining their ranks in 1785. He will ever be honorably known as one of the founders of the British and Foreign Bible Society. His agency in this

was due to his zealous and persistent efforts to supply the Welsh people with the word of God. He stamped his impress permanently on the Church of Wales by the prominent part which he took in giving the church its rules of discipline, and its organic form.

Separation of the Societies from the Church.—

Those who had been toiling so arduously, and suffering so heroically for the spiritual good of Wales were not purposing to organize a new church. They were merely striving to lift Christian life to a higher plane. This was the object of their preaching, their pastoral labors, and their societies. They were loyal to the Established Church of England, looked to it for the administration of the Lord's Supper, and for the ordained ministry. But the church looked upon them as wayward children; and instead of trying to supply their spiritual need, tried to reclaim them, even by the use of violent measures, from their Methodistical ways. The breach continually widened, until it finally became perfectly evident that the Welsh Methodists must either follow the example of the English Methodists, and set up for themselves, or lose what they had gained and gradually lapse back into the settled ways of the old establishment. Under the leadership of Thomas Charles, and a few other noble spirits, they chose the former alternative. Having already demonstrated that Episcopal ordination was not essential to effective preaching, the Quarterly Associations, which met in 1811 proceeded to set apart twenty-one men to the gospel ministry by the laying on of the hands of presbytery. By this step the Rubicon was crossed, and the Calvinistic Methodist Church of Wales was started on her career as a separate and distinct member of the great sisterhood of churches. The prosperity which has at-

tended her labors since that date, the healthful growth in membership, and the wide expansion of her activities abundantly attest the wisdom of the step.

The Organization Completed.—The germ of the church's polity was in the societies which were formed in each parish. These societies met weekly for edification under the lead of their minister or elders. To these was added a monthly meeting, made up of representatives from the parish societies. As the societies increased, the number of monthly meetings was increased, and to each monthly meeting was assigned the supervision of a certain number of societies. In the course of a few years two Quarterly Associations were added, one of which had Episcopal power over South Wales and the other over North Wales. It was not till 1864 that unity and completeness were given to the organization by adding a General Assembly. While the polity is clearly based on Presbyterian principles, it has certain marked peculiarities due to the fact that the church is purely an indigenous growth. It did not spring from any seed brought from a foreign source, nor has it grown up under a culture derived from a foreign source. It was born in the convictions of Welsh hearts; its Presbyterian principles have been derived direct from the Bible, and have been framed into a system gradually as exigencies arose. No doubt the system will receive some further modifications in the light of growing experience; and as the church comes into closer affiliation with other churches of like faith and order, its polity will likely be brought into closer conformity with the prevalent type of Presbyterianism.

Its "Rules of Discipline, or General Principles of Church Government" were published in 1801; and in

1823, it adopted a Confession of Faith of forty-four chapters, setting forth a distinctly Calvinistic system of doctrine. It carries on a home mission work in the border counties of England ; and a foreign mission work in India. It has two colleges for training preachers, one at Bala, the other at Trevecca. More than 160,000 communicants have been gathered into its 1,137 churches.

CHAPTER IX

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PRESBYTERIANISM in the United States is divided into thirteen distinct organizations. Several of these are descended from the same ancestral stock, and the family likeness is very close. It requires continual practice in dialectical skill to find reasons for their remaining apart. A few years without discussion, and the members would lose sight of the marks that discriminate one from the other.

In order to clearness it is necessary to trace the history of each separately. This chapter will be devoted to the largest and the most influential of them all. Its official title is, The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

The Manifoldness of Its Sources.—An interesting feature of this Church is the number of sources from which its original material was derived. In this respect it is like the Republic, of which it forms a part. On these shores the oppressed of all lands found a refuge; and adventurers from all lands found an attraction. When once here, the mixed peoples, bound together by common interests and a common destiny, coalesced into one government. By interminglings and intermarriages, and through the molding influence of common institutions, they have become assimilated, in large measure, to a common type. In like manner, the manifold varieties of Presbyterianism, constituting the original material of

the Church, whose history we are now to trace, have become blended into a type of Presbyterianism, peculiar to itself. England, France, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and Germany, all contributed in different proportions to the common stock; but these distinctive national traits have long since become merged into one fairly homogeneous whole.

Presbyterianism Among the Puritans.—A goodly number of the Puritans who settled New England were Presbyterians. The first, however, to plant a colony were Independents. These were the Pilgrim Fathers, who came from England by way of Holland, and reached Plymouth Rock in the *Mayflower* in 1620. Eight years later a much larger body landed at Salem. The two little colonies were composed of men of the same blood, from the same land, and substantially of the same faith. The only difference was that the colonists settled at Salem had not carried their antagonism to the Church of England to the point of separation. They had lived, up to the time of their leaving England, in the communion of the Episcopal Church. The preachers who came over with the first Puritan colonists were in orders in the Church of England; and while alienated from Archbishop Laud and his school, they were proud to claim the English Establishment as their mother church. "We do not go to New England," they said, "as separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions of it; but we go to practice the positive part of church reformation, and to propagate the gospel in America." But when they came to organize their church in the new world, they reformed away all the Episcopal features.

The little handful of separatists, who formed the colony

of Plymouth Rock, exercised a marked influence over the colony at Salem. By a little brotherly intercourse, and interchange of religious views, it became evident that the Puritans, who came direct from England, held virtually the same views with the Pilgrims, who came by way of Holland. The result was that the churches in both colonies were fashioned on the same general principles. These churches were not purely Congregational, nor purely Presbyterian, but represented "a Congregationalized Presbyterianism, or a Presbyterianized Congregationalism." The Presbyterian elements grew stronger with the coming of fresh colonists. The churches of Connecticut were popularly known as Presbyterian. But in the end the Congregational elements largely prevailed, and with a few exceptions only so much of the Puritan Presbyterianism as drifted south and west of New England became permanently a part of the Presbyterian Church.

The Beginning of Organized Presbyterianism.—While certain Presbyterian principles were embodied in the church life of New England, yet we must look elsewhere for the tap root of the great Presbyterian tree. Some find it in Maryland in the middle portion of the seventeenth century. Rehoboth Church claims to be the first-born of American Presbyterian churches, though the claim is contested. It was organized about the year 1684, and probably by Francis Makemie, who is, perhaps, rightly called the "Father of American Presbyterianism." Two Presbyterian preachers, Francis Doughty and Matthew Hill had previously sown good Presbyterian seed in Maryland and parts of Virginia. Both of these were nonconformist ministers from England, exiles for conscience' sake; and although much obscurity rests upon their labors, it is evident from what information remains to us that they were the real

pioneers, and faithful seed-sowers of Presbyterianism in the middle colonies.

Francis Makemie.—There was needed a man of strong personality, of sagacity, and of good executive ability to gather the scattered adherents of Presbyterianism into organized bodies. This need was supplied by Francis Makemie. He was born in Ireland, educated in Scotland, and sent out as a missionary by the Presbytery of Laggan in 1681, to labor in the Barbadoes and in the American colonies. After laboring for awhile in the Barbadoes he came to Maryland in 1684, and began his arduous and fruitful ministry. He traversed the country from Massachusetts to South Carolina, preaching as opportunity permitted, acquainting himself with the condition of the people, and striving to supply them with the gospel. To this end he wrote urgent appeals to Boston and London; these proving unavailing, he crossed the ocean and laid the matter before an association of ministers in London—an association composed of both Presbyterians and Independents. This association showed its interest by furnishing money for the support of missionaries; and thus enabled him to persuade two ministers, John Hampton and George McNish to return with him.

Difficulties of the Pioneers.—The obstacles in the way of these foundation-layers were neither few nor insignificant. The country was sparsely settled; the people poor; social and political life in a fluid state; and in many places the government was unfriendly. The Episcopal Church was established by law in the colonies of New York, Virginia, and the Carolinas; and also in Maryland, after William and Mary came to the English throne in 1688. The early preachers had to endure not only the hardships and self-denials incident to the new-

ness and unsettled condition of the colonies, but they were subjected to more or less of persecution from the hands of the same church that had driven them and their people from their homes in the old world. Makemie and Hampton were arrested, and confined in prison for two months in New York "for taking it upon themselves to preach in a private house, without having obtained any license for so doing." When brought to trial they were acquitted; but Makemie was unjustly made to pay a heavy bill of costs. In Virginia it was difficult for "dissenting" ministers to secure license to preach, and they and their people were heavily taxed to support the Established Church. The same state of affairs prevailed in South Carolina, where those who did not conform to Episcopacy were disfranchised. Under these manifold adversities, the growth of early Presbyterianism was very slow; but it did grow, and by the end of the seventeenth century several congregations had been formed in Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York.

Organization of the First Presbytery.—The first leaf of the records of the first presbytery is lost, but as Dr. Roberts has shown, it must have been organized at Philadelphia, Pa., in 1706. The record begins with the minutes of a meeting held at Freehold, New Jersey, December, 27, 1706, for the ordination of Mr. John Boyd. The number of ministers composing the presbytery at the time was seven. By the ordination of Mr. Boyd, the number was increased to eight. All of these, except one, were foreign born, and all except two were ordained to the ministry in Scotland and Ireland. The only one born in America was Jedediah Andrews, pastor of the church in Philadelphia. He was born in Massachusetts, and edu-

cated at Harvard College. He went to Philadelphia in 1698, was ordained in 1701, and by dint of persevering efforts gathered a feeble congregation of very heterogeneous elements. A new "meeting house" was built for him in 1705, and in that new house the first presbytery, the germ of the great Presbyterian Church, was organized.

Inasmuch as seven of the eight ministers, who composed the first presbytery, were from Scotland and Ireland, it may be presumed that they meant to establish a church in all essentials like the churches from which they had come. While there is no evidence that they required subscription to any standard of orthodoxy, the records of their proceedings make it perfectly manifest that as to doctrine, they were all Calvinists, and as to polity, they were all genuinely Presbyterian. Yet this fact did not prevent their maintaining the closest relations with the churches of New England. They appealed as earnestly to Boston for ministers as to London, Glasgow, or Dublin. The Boston ministers responded with true Christian sympathy, and did what they could to supply their need. While the Presbyterianism of the founders was pure and thoroughgoing, it was neither over-rigid, nor suspicious.

Organization of the First Synod.—After the organization of the presbytery, the Church grew with considerable rapidity, due mainly to constant immigration of both ministers and members from abroad. Notwithstanding several deaths, by the year 1716 the presbytery contained seventeen ministers. As these were scattered over a wide territory, and travel was attended with difficulty, it was deemed advisable to break up the one presbytery into four. The names of these four presbyteries were

Philadelphia, Newcastle, Snowhill and Long Island. On the 17th of September, 1717, the members of three of these presbyteries met in Philadelphia and organized the first synod. Of the seventeen members, two were from New England, two were from Wales, one was from England, and the remaining twelve were from Scotland and Ireland. Obviously the Scotch and Scotch-Irish were able to have everything their own way, and no doubt their way was the way of their mother churches across the waters. It is further obvious, however, that this way was perfectly agreeable to all parties. There was but one type of doctrine, and the working of a simple, but thoroughgoing Presbyterian polity produced no friction.

Need of a Doctrinal Standard.—Up to the year 1729, the synod required no formal subscription to any standard of doctrine. The need for this had not been felt, inasmuch as the ministers from across the waters came from churches whose orthodoxy was unmistakable, and those from New England were likewise from a church, which up to this date, had been solidly Calvinistic. But in the early part of the eighteenth century, serious doctrinal laxity began to manifest itself in Scotland. From there it passed to Ireland through the ministers of the Irish Church who were educated at the Scotch universities. In 1719, the New Light controversy arose in Ireland, led by the Rev. John Abernethy. It was a revolt against creed-subscription on the ground that to require such subscription was a sin against personal liberty, and that sincerity of belief should be accepted in lieu of any creedal profession. This movement spread, and gave the Presbyterian Church of Ireland no little trouble through a period of several years. It opened the door for the introduction of many doctrinal errors, especially

in the direction of Arminianism, Arianism and Socinianism. As the Church in this country continued to look to Scotland and Ireland as the principal source of ministerial supply, grave alarm was felt. The fountain corrupted, the stream must inevitably become tainted.

The Adopting Act.—Apprehension first took practical shape in the Presbytery of New Castle, which began as early as 1724 to require its candidates for the ministry to subscribe the Confession of Faith. Very soon thereafter, the matter was called to the attention of the synod by a member of this presbytery, the Rev. John Thompson. It was carefully considered by the synod, and the result was the following declaration :—

“Although the synod do not claim, or pretend to any authority of imposing our faith upon other men’s consciences, but do profess our just dissatisfaction with, and abhorrence of, such impositions, and do utterly disclaim all legislative power and authority in the Church, being willing to receive one another as Christ has received us to the glory of God, and admit to fellowship in sacred ordinances all such as we have ground to believe Christ will at last admit into the kingdom of heaven ; yet we are undoubtedly obliged to take care that the faith once delivered to the saints be kept pure and uncorrupt among us and so handed down to our posterity. And do, therefore, agree that all the ministers of this synod, or that shall hereafter be admitted into this synod, shall declare their agreement in, and approbation of, the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as being in all essential and necessary articles good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine, and do also adopt the said Confession

and Catechisms as the confession of our faith. And we do also agree that all the presbyteries within our bounds shall always take care not to admit any candidate of the ministry into the exercise of the sacred functions, but what declares his agreement in opinion with all the essential and necessary articles of said Confession, either by subscribing the said Confession of Faith and Catechisms, or by a verbal declaration of his assent thereto, as such minister or candidate shall think best. And in case any minister of this synod, or any candidate for the ministry, shall have any scruple with respect to any article or articles of said Confession or Catechisms, he shall, at the time of his making said declaration, declare his sentiments to the presbytery or synod, who shall, notwithstanding, admit him to the exercise of the ministry within our bounds, and to ministerial communion, if the synod or presbytery shall judge his scruple or mistake to be only about articles not essential and necessary in doctrine, worship, or government. But if the synod, or presbytery, shall judge such ministers or candidates erroneous in essential and necessary articles of faith, the synod or presbytery shall declare them incapable of communion with them. And the synod do solemnly agree that none of us will traduce or use any opprobrious terms of those that differ from us in these extra-essential and not necessary points of doctrine, but treat them with the same friendship, kindness and brotherly love as if they had not differed from us in such sentiments."

Significance of this Act.—This document, known as the Adopting Act of 1729, reflects great credit on both the heads and hearts of those who framed, and those who approved, it. The members of the synod had on

scruples except touching the articles in the Form of Government, defining the duties of the civil magistrate. Having expressed these scruples they signed the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, and "unanimously agreed in giving thanks to God in solemn prayer and praise." There has been no greater day in the history of the Church than that day when it flung this banner to the breeze, and proclaimed itself a witness-bearing Church. By these presents, all men knew what this Church, destined to be one of the greatest forces in the new world, stood for; what it proposed to contend for, and if need be die for. The Adopting Act stamped it as a Confessional Church and prepared it for a glorious warfare in behalf of truth and righteousness.

"The Great Awakening."—Only a few years elapsed, when the Spirit of God came upon the churches in blessed reviving power. The beginning is usually traced to the fervent ministry of Jacob Frelinghuysen, pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church at Raritan, N. J. Independently and almost simultaneously, showers of blessing accompanied the preaching of Jonathan Edwards in New England. About this time, George Whitefield made his first visit to America, and preaching to great crowds in New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere, gave a mighty impulse to the movement. In the Presbyterian Church, the Tennents threw themselves heart and soul, into the revival, and soon Gilbert Tennent, quickened into fiery zeal through the ministry of Frelinghuysen, attained a position, second only to that of Whitefield, as a preacher of thrilling and persuasive oratory. The revival spread throughout the country, growing in power, but developing certain features which gave rise to bitter controversies and long-continued alienations.

Many looked on the whole movement with grave suspicion, as being merely an outburst of emotionalism. They held aloof, and gave free expression to their apprehensions. Some of the leaders of the movement had more zeal than discretion. They regarded all want of sympathy with the revival as due to spiritual deadness. They invaded the parishes of those ministers who were in opposition, held meetings and won away the people from their pastors. Gilbert Tennent was especially violent, and went so far as to preach a sermon on "An Unconverted Ministry," aimed at the adversaries of the revival.

The Division of the Synod in 1741.—In a few years the two parties had been driven by their fierce antagonisms so far apart as to make it impossible for them to meet peaceably in the courts of the Church. They were labeled with party names,—Old Side and New Side. The New Side had charged the Old Side with being graceless, had invaded their congregations, divided and alienated them, and in their zeal to promote and extend the revival, they had introduced candidates into the ministry in opposition to the rules previously adopted by the synod for testing their qualifications. When the synod met in 1741, the Old Side, led by Robert Cross, adopted a protest against these alleged antipresbyterial, antisciptural, and divisive methods. In this protest it was declared that those, against whom it was aimed, were not entitled to sit in the synod. The protest was therefore an act of exclusion, and when it was adopted by the majority, there was nothing for the minority to do but to withdraw. This they did in the midst of a scene of stormy altercation.

Organization of Synod of New York.—Not a member

of the Presbytery of New York was present, possibly absenting themselves intentionally because not willing to take sides with either party. They sympathized with the protest of the Old Side in so far as it was merely a protest against the unseemly and questionable behavior of their opponents; but they did not approve of it as an act of exclusion. For a time they tried to mediate between the belligerent parties. Failing to reconcile them, they cast in their lot with the New Side, not, however, until after they had secured certain declarations and concessions from them. The New Side, thus strengthened, organized, in 1745, the Synod of New York. There were now two distinct Presbyterian churches, occupying in part the same ground, and rivals for the same constituency. They were divided, not on questions of doctrine, or polity, but on questions deeply affecting Christian life, and the work of propagandism. The one stood for a high and inflexible standard of education, and a rigid conservatism in forms of worship and methods of evangelization; the other emphasized experimental piety, and in worship permitted a wide latitude to emotionalism.

Work of the Synod of New York.—At the time of the unhappy breach, numerically the two parties were very nearly equal, the Synod of Philadelphia having twenty-six ministers, and the Synod of New York twenty-two. As to growth, their histories during the next twelve years were vastly different. The Synod of New York, zealous in its missionary spirit, and freely using revival methods, bounded forward with remarkable rapidity. It put forth strenuous and successful efforts to give the gospel to the frontier settlements in Virginia and North Carolina. Its greatest achievement in this

direction was sending Samuel Davies to Hanover, Virginia, immediately on his ordination to the ministry in 1747.

Dissenters in Virginia.—His field of labor had been prepared for him by a marvelous providence in connection with Morris' Reading House. A little band of Christians had drawn away from their parish church because their souls were not fed; and they were undertaking to care for themselves by meeting together on the Sabbath and reading devotional books. Soon they were summoned before the governor and council. On their way to obey the summons, they happened on a copy of the Westminster Confession of Faith. It was to them a strange book, but on examination, they found that it fittingly expressed their own faith. Reaching Williamsburg, they presented this book to Governor Gooch as their creed. The governor, being a Scotchman and therefore acquainted with the Confession of Faith, had no trouble in placing the culprits. He told them they were Presbyterians and dismissed them with a caution not to create disturbance. Shortly after this they had the privilege of hearing a sermon from the Rev. William Robinson, the first Presbyterian preacher to visit Hanover County. On his leaving them, they constrained Robinson to accept a gift of money. With this, he aided young Davies in securing an education, and four years later, their gift of money returned to them in the shape of their first pastor, the Rev. Samuel Davies, one of the greatest blessings that God has ever given to the Presbyterian Church of America.

Mission Work in North Carolina.—The Synod of New York extended its evangelizing labors into North Carolina, as far south as Sugar Creek where Alexander Craighead settled in 1755, and began to educate the hardy

Scotch-Irish in those principles of religious and civil liberty which found expression, twenty years later, in the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. In this same year, 1755, the Presbytery of Hanover was organized, and included all the ministers south of the Potomac River, except one or two in the valley of Virginia who adhered to the Synod of Philadelphia.

During this period of separation the Synod of New York was also active in mission work among the Indians. To this work it set apart, among others, that most apostolic man, David Brainerd, whose name will live forever in the missionary annals of the Church side by side with that of the saintly Elliot.

Work of the Synod of Philadelphia.—In the meantime, the Synod of Philadelphia was at a standstill. While rightly protesting against the extremes to which the New Side carried their revival measures, they swung too far to the other extreme. They alienated all those whose hearts were earnestly set on evangelical aggressiveness, and no revivals of any marked power attended their labors. A want of revivals meant a dearth of candidates for the ministry. The stream of immigration from Scotland and Ireland had well-nigh ceased to flow. Consequently their ministerial force dwindled, instead of increasing. There were accessions, but these did not keep pace with the losses by death. Obviously a church cannot prosper with a constantly diminishing roll of ministers. While, therefore, the Synod of Philadelphia is entitled to credit for a noble testimony against fanaticism, its history is a warning against undue suspicion of revivals.

Union of Synods in 1758.—No sooner had the separation taken place, than lovers of peace began to seek for a

reconciliation. Those foremost in this work were members of the Presbytery of New York. They thought both parties in the conflict that led to separation were in the wrong, and succeeded in drawing from the New Side confession of wrongdoing. Year after year they proposed plans for reunion. It was not easy to overcome the lingering distrust of the Old Side. But, by and by, death removed some of the older men on either side; time softened asperities, and grace overcame prejudices. Each side made some concessions, and in 1758 they found a platform on which both could stand and be at peace.

The Reunion Platform.—This platform reaffirmed their common adherence to the Confession of Faith and the Catechisms “as an orthodox and excellent system of Christian doctrine, founded on the word of God,” and also their adherence to the “plan of worship, government and discipline contained in the Westminster Directory, strictly enjoining it upon all our members and probationers for the ministry, that they preach and teach according to the form of sound words in said confession and catechisms, and avoid and oppose all errors contrary thereto.” Very fortunately for the future peace of the Church the union was brought about without the slightest compromise in the matter of doctrine or discipline. Presbyterians can never live together comfortably while differing in these respects.

Some Early Educational Institutions.—The Presbyterian Church from the day of its birth was insistent in its demand for an educated ministry. Its first preachers, most of whom came from the old world, were educated principally at the Scotch universities. Those from New England were degree men from Harvard and Yale.

The "Log College."—At a very early day, it was felt that the Church should take steps to do its own educating. The pioneer in this work was the Rev. William Tennent, Sr. When he came to America in 1716, he was a member of the Episcopal Church of Ireland; but he changed his ecclesiastical relations, and joined the Synod of Philadelphia, in September, 1718. In 1726 he settled at Neshaminy, Pa., and in the course of a year or two thereafter opened a school with the avowed object of training up a pious and learned ministry. This school became famous as the "Log College." It was honored to do a noble and much needed work for the Church. Several of its alumni were among the most eminent and useful ministers of the day. The older members of the synod were not disposed, however, to accord to it due credit, showing an unwillingness to receive its credentials as a guarantee of scholarship. This constituted one of the several grounds of contention between the Old Side and the New Side at the time of the disruption in 1741.

Princeton College.—Immediately on the division of the synod, both bodies set about establishing schools. The Synod of New York planted one at Elizabethtown, N. J., with the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson at its head. A charter was obtained for this school in October, 1746. On the 7th of the next October, its distinguished president died. The school was then removed to Newark, N. J., and placed in charge of the Rev. Aaron Burr. In 1755, another removal took place, this time to Princeton, N. J., where it still continues to flourish as Princeton University.

The Classical School at Fagg's Manor, Pa.—This famous school was established by the Rev. Samuel Blair about the year 1740. He continued at its head until his

untimely death at the early age of thirty-nine in 1751. His brother, the Rev. John Blair succeeded him, both in his pastorate, and in the school. "At this school were trained several young men, who afterwards ranked among the most prominent clergymen of the Presbyterian Church; and one at least, the Rev. Samuel Davies, among the greater lights of his generation." As both the Blairs were educated in the "Log College," the school at Fagg's Manor may properly be regarded as a part of the abundant fruit of that earlier institution.

The Academy at Pequea, Pa.—About the year 1750, the Rev. Robert Smith, D. D., was settled over the church at Pequea, Pa., and soon thereafter opened a school for the training of youth in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. The school became famous for its thoroughness, and quite a number who obtained their classical education there returned to study theology under its distinguished principal. Three of Dr. Smith's own sons, who became ministers, owed their early training to this school. Two of these, the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D., LL. D., and the Rev. John Blair Smith, D. D., rose to great distinction both as preachers and as educators. It was here also that John McMillan in part was trained for his career of very great usefulness as the "Apostle of the Presbyterian Church in the West." From his log-cabin school in Washington County, Pa., he sent forth a great many young men to preach the gospel, and in that log cabin laid the foundation of Washington and Jefferson College.

As Dr. Smith was the product of the school at Fagg's Manor, and as that school was the fruit of the Log College at Neshaminy, we see the ever-widening influence of that pioneer undertaking.

The Old Side School at New London, Pa.—The Synod of Philadelphia in 1744 adopted as their own a school which the Rev. Francis Alison had established at New London, the year before. This school was continued by Mr. Alison until 1752, when he removed to Philadelphia. It was justly celebrated for its high standard of scholarship, and gave to both church and state some eminent men.

Church Schools and Church Growth.—The Synod of New York was much better supplied with facilities for educating a ministry, and this accounts in no small degree for its so far outstripping the other synod during the period of separation. Its twenty-two ministers grew to be seventy-two in twelve years, while the twenty-six of the Synod of Philadelphia were reduced to twenty-two.

Early Churches in the Carolinas.—In the closing years of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth century, a few Presbyterian churches were formed in and round Charleston, S. C. These were formed out of elements which had come from England, Scotland, Ireland and France. By the year 1730, the churches had become sufficiently numerous for the organization of a presbytery. Owing to its distance from all other bodies of organized Presbyterians, this presbytery continued without connection with a superior court for a great many years. In 1770, it made application for admission to the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, but for some reason it was not admitted; and consequently the Presbytery of South Carolina remained independent till long after the Revolutionary War.

Presbyterians began to settle in North Carolina at an early period, but owing to their scattered condition, and the want of preachers, they were not gathered into or-

ganizations until far along in the eighteenth century. The material of the first churches was mainly Scotch. Beginning with 1729, these came in increasing numbers through many years and formed settlements mainly along the Cape Fear River. The first minister to labor permanently among them was the Rev. James Campbell, who settled near Fayetteville in 1747. About this time there began to pour in a strong tide of Scotch-Irish immigration, which furnished the sturdy material out of which Alexander Craighead, Hugh McAden and Henry Patillo organized churches that continue to this day.

Growth of the Church from 1758 to 1776.—At the time of the union of the two synods in 1758, the strength of the Church, as nearly as can be ascertained, consisted of one hundred ministers, two hundred congregations and ten thousand members. Its strength was chiefly in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, in which colonies it was much stronger than all the other churches combined. Congregationalism held New England almost solidly, while Episcopacy maintained its ascendancy in Virginia and the Carolinas. The Presbyterian Church continued to lengthen its cords and strengthen its stakes during the years of political agitation preceding the War of Independence. But as this agitation became more fierce and absorbing, religious life became more languid.

The Presbytery of Hanover was reorganized in 1758, so as to include all the ministers of both the old synods, living in Virginia and North Carolina. Those in North Carolina were set off in Orange Presbytery in 1770. New presbyteries were formed in the meantime in Pennsylvania and New York. The total strength of the Presbyterian Church at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War was represented by twelve presbyteries, three hun-

dred churches, one hundred and forty ministers, and about twenty thousand members. At the same period the Congregationalists numbered seven hundred churches; the Baptists three hundred and eighty; and the Episcopalians three hundred. These four denominations far outranked all others; and, of the four, the Presbyterians were numerically the weakest. But in the great colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, where their strength was largely concentrated, the Presbyterians were much the strongest.

Presbyterians and Patriotism.—"If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." Some persons think that a history of the Presbyterian Church should make no mention of the part which her members took in the struggle for independence, inasmuch as it was only as citizens, entitled to certain political rights, that they were justified in taking the sword. The line, however, between ecclesiastical and civil was not then clearly drawn, and because the Presbyterians, along with other dissenting bodies, had suffered from the oppressions of a church establishment they were prompt to enter into a conflict, in the issues of which both civil and religious liberty were involved. The testimony of an Episcopal rector in New York City has been frequently cited as showing the unanimity of the Presbyterians and the motives which actuated them at this crisis: "Although civil liberty was the ostensible object, the bait was flung out to catch the populace at large and engage them in the rebellion, yet it is now past all doubt that an abolition of the Church of England was one of the principal springs of the dissenting leaders' conduct; and hence the unanimity of the dissenters in this business. I have it from good authority that the Presbyterian ministers, at a synod where most of

them in the middle colonies were collected, resolved to support the Continental Congress in all its measures. This and this only can account for the uniformity of their conduct; for I do not know one of them, nor have I been able after strict inquiring, to hear of any, who did not by preaching and every effort in their power, promote all the measures of the Congress however extravagant." Mr. Bancroft says: "The first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain came not from the Puritans of New England, nor the Dutch of New York, nor the planters of Virginia, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians." He refers to such deliverances as that of the convention which met in Abingdon, Virginia, in 1775, in which the sturdy pioneers declared: "We are deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender any of our inestimable privileges to any power on earth but at the expense of our lives." The Scotch-Irish of Mecklenburg County, N. C., in the same year took still stronger ground in the famous Mecklenburg Declaration, in which they practically renounced the government of Great Britain. In the person of the Rev. John Witherspoon, the Presbyterian Church furnished one illustrious signer of the Declaration of Independence put forth by the Continental Congress, July 4th, 1776. It was inevitable that a Church which made itself so prominent in the struggle, should have suffered much in the death of its members, the breaking up of its congregations, and the destruction of its property.

Organization of the General Assembly.—The Church soon rallied from the crippled condition into which the fortunes of war had brought it. The territory over which it spread extended from New York to Georgia.

Its highest court was the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. This was not a delegated body, but was composed of all the ministers, and one elder from each church. The difficulty of attendance, now that the territory had grown so large, made it advisable to divide up the synod, and organize, as a Central Court, a representative assembly. Accordingly a movement to this end was set on foot in 1786 and consummated in 1788. The synod was divided into four;—viz., the Synod of New York and New Jersey, with four presbyteries; Philadelphia, with five presbyteries; Virginia, with four presbyteries; and the Carolinas, with three presbyteries. These sixteen presbyteries contained 177 ministers, 111 probationers, and 419 churches. The synod, at this same session in 1788, revised the Confession of Faith and the Larger Catechism by striking out those passages which defined the relation of Church and state, and the powers of the civil magistrate, conforming these standards to the American idea of the complete separation of Church and state, and the absolute independence of each in its own proper sphere. It then adopted all the Westminster symbols, thus revised, as the constitution of the reorganized Church provided that they could be amended only by a two-thirds vote of the presbyteries and subsequent enactment of the assembly, and then passed out of existence, giving place to the General Assembly, which met for the first time in 1789.

Union with the General Association of Connecticut in 1801.—The treaty between England and France in 1763 opened the country west of the Alleghanies for settlement. Immediately a stream of emigration began to pour across the mountains into the region of the

Ohio. A few years later, Kentucky and Tennessee were filling up at a rapid rate. The population of these territories increased, during the decade between 1790 and 1800, from one hundred thousand to three hundred and twenty thousand. Here then west of the Appalachian Mountains, lay an ever-widening field for missionary effort. The churches of all denominations felt deeply the obligation to supply the destitute pioneers with the gospel. In order to economize in men and money in the prosecution of their vast home mission work, the General Association of Connecticut and the General Assembly adopted a Plan of Union. By this plan all competition between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians was to be avoided. Either church might be served with a pastor from the other, and the pastor retain his connection with his own church. A Congregational Church with a Presbyterian pastor conducted its internal affairs in its own way. In case of difference with its pastor, he had the right of appeal to his presbytery; or if church and pastor preferred the difference could be referred to a council composed of an equal number of Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The same principles applied when the church was Presbyterian and the pastor Congregational. A church might be composed of both Congregationalists and Presbyterians. In such case, they could intrust the government to a standing committee. This committee was authorized to depute one of its members to represent the church in presbytery.

It is easy to see that in the practical working of such a plan, serious friction might be introduced into the Presbyterian machinery. It was, at best, a somewhat perilous experiment.

It may be proper to note that at this period much of the benevolent work of all the churches was carried on by voluntary societies. These did not owe their origin to the Plan of Union. Quite a number of the evangelical churches coöperated in sustaining them. But this method of carrying on benevolent work was in harmony with the Plan of Union, and it increased the embarrassments which grew out of this plan at a later date.

Advantages of the Union to Presbyterianism.—This combination of forces worked well so far as concerned aggressive evangelism. Under its operation churches multiplied rapidly, and the lion's share fell to the Presbyterians. The number of communicants in the year 1800 is reckoned at 40,000. When the Plan of Union was abrogated in 1837, the number had risen to 232,000. It was during this same period that nearly all the theological seminaries of the Church were founded—Princeton in 1812; Auburn, 1819; Union, Virginia, 1824; Allegheny, 1827; Columbia, S. C., 1828; Lane, 1829; McCormick, 1830; Union, New York, 1836. Of course, this great and rapid development of the Church was not due solely, possibly not even chiefly, to the Plan of Union; but it could readily be shown that this contributed to it in no small degree. Owing to the union, nearly all the Puritan migration from New England westward flowed into the Presbyterian Church.

Disadvantages of the Union.—The gain was not all gain. The growth was not altogether healthy. The Calvinism of the New England churches had already become diluted with Hopkinsianism; and this was further diluted by Emmonsism and all the other novelties that

ultimately made up the "New England Theology." The Plan of Union opened the floodgate for this stream of diluted doctrine to debouch into the Presbyterian Church. Along with doctrinal errors came also abnormalities in polity and laxity of discipline. It was charged that many gained admission to the Presbyterian ministry without subscribing to the Confession of Faith, men who knew nothing about the polity of the Church, and who set at naught its discipline. Friends of the old order became seriously alarmed. They summed up doctrinal defections in sixteen counts; errors in Church order in ten; and errors in discipline in four. Even supposing this an exaggeration, it is evident that a new and degenerate type of Presbyterianism was rapidly developing. Friction sprang up between the old and the new. Friction gave rise to parties, and, by and by, the whole Church was converted into a battle ground.

Some Famous Ecclesiastical Trials.—With each passing year the hostility increased between the parties, which came to be known as Old and New School. The Old School attempted to arrest the current of evils that was flowing in on them, by the use of discipline. Several ecclesiastical trials were instituted. The two most noted were against Lyman Beecher, professor of theology in Lane Seminary, and Albert Barnes, pastor of First Church, Philadelphia. Dr. Beecher was arraigned before the Presbytery of Cincinnati in 1835, charged with holding and teaching Pelagian and Arminian doctrine in respect to free agency, accountability, original sin, total depravity, regeneration, and Christian character. He was ably prosecuted by Dr. J. L. Wilson, but was acquitted by a vote of nearly two to one. The case was carried up to the synod, and again he was ac-

quitted. Dr. Wilson gave notice of complaint to the General Assembly, but for some reason failed to prosecute it before that body.

Albert Barnes was charged before the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia with holding and propagating ten distinct errors, all of the same general character as those charged against Beecher. He was prosecuted by Dr. George Junkin, who failed, in the judgment of the presbytery, to make out his case. He made complaint to synod. This body reversed the decision of the presbytery, and suspended Mr. Barnes from the ministry. He appealed to the General Assembly meeting in Pittsburg in 1836. After eleven days of discussion, the assembly reversed the decision of the synod and restored Mr. Barnes to the office of the ministry by a vote of 145 to 78.

Growing Strength of the New School Party.—By this time it became evident to the Old School party that they could not check the spread of the sentiments which were held by the opposite party, by the ordinary process of discipline. The two parties were too evenly divided, and the New School party had the advantage in the places of meeting of the General Assembly. Its almost uniform place of meeting was in Philadelphia. There had been only two exceptions since the year 1799, and on those two occasions it had met at Pittsburg. The regions of the Church most seriously affected by the new departures were central and western New York and Ohio. These regions, lying so convenient to Philadelphia and Pittsburg were much more fully represented than the Church at large. Every year increased the relative strength of the New School.

The Division of 1837, 1838.—When the assembly met

in 1837, it was expected that the Old School would take very decided action, if they found that they had the reins of power in their hands. The leaders of this party held a convention a few days preceding the meeting of the assembly for the purpose of formulating a method of procedure. It was impossible, however, to decide in advance how to meet and surmount all the difficulties confronting them. On going into the assembly, they put forward more than one measure which was found, after discussion, to be impracticable. Finally they resolved on an act of very bold and unprecedented surgery. First, they abrogated the Plan of Union, on the ground that it was unconstitutional; second, they resolved that the Plan of Union being unconstitutional, all that was done under it was unconstitutional; third, they followed up this resolution by cutting off four synods that had become most thoroughly New School views, and were threatening the life of the whole body. The only motive that could justify such a drastic remedy would be that of self-preservation. This was in reality the motive; for the Old School, whether rightly or wrongly, judged that the purity and efficiency of the whole Church were in mortal peril. The four excised synods were the Western Reserve, Utica, Geneva and Genesee.

Formation of the New School Assembly.—When the assembly of 1838 was organized, the stated clerk omitted the commissioners of those synods from the roll. This led to the formation of another assembly. The line that bounded it was not the same as that bounding the four synods which had been extruded, but it ran zigzag in every direction through the Church. It included many, especially in the South, who had no sympathy with the errors charged against the four synods, but who believed

the excising act to be unconstitutional, and such a remedy to be worse than the evil which it was designed to cure. Of the 232,000 communicants at the time of the division, 106,000 went with the New School, and 126,000 remained with the Old. After carrying property questions into the civil courts, where conflicting decisions were rendered, each church retained control of the property which it actually held.

Deplorable Consequences of Separation.—While the division of the Church seems to have been essential to the preservation of its integrity, yet the necessity for division must be regarded as a serious blow to the progress of Presbyterianism. Congregations were divided; communities were divided; even families were divided, and the bitterness of strife took the place of evangelical fervor. Feeble organizations were formed, in order to perpetuate doctrinal feuds. Instead of an army, two hundred thousand strong, going forth with united strength to the conquest of unevangelized territory for Christ, the army was split up into innumerable little factions at war with each other. The energy that should have gone into missionary effort was expended by each party in trying to bring the other under the suspicion and contempt of the general public. Thus they not only hindered each other, but played into the hands of unfriendly denominations. They furnished ammunition to the Methodists and Baptists, who, taking advantage of this internecine warfare, preëmpted the territory which by right of inheritance belonged to the Presbyterians. No church in this country had an equal opportunity with the Presbyterian Church at the opening of the nineteenth century. During the first third of the century it increased sixfold, outstripping all rivals. But during the

next third of the century it scarcely more than doubled ; while it lost to the other denominations perhaps two thirds of the descendants of Ulster Presbyterians.

• **Slow Growth of the New School Assembly.**—When the Synod of Philadelphia divided in 1741, nearly all the aggressive vitality went with the New Side. It was otherwise with the division in 1837. The New School continued to coöperate with the Congregationalists under the Plan of Union, but the increasing degeneracy of the Congregationalists in both doctrine and polity more and more demonstrated the unwisdom of such coöperation. Finally the Congregationalists departed so far from the primitive faith as to be unwilling longer to affiliate with even the very liberal ecclesiasticism represented by the New School Assembly. Their National Convention, therefore, which met in Albany in 1852 abrogated the Plan of Union. This was a useful service to the Presbyterians, for the Plan of Union had long been a source of weakness to them, crippling them in their work of missions both at home and abroad.

After the division, the New School Assembly developed in the course of a few years a very intolerant antislavery sentiment. The discussions on this subject in the annual meetings became increasingly exasperating to the slaveholders in the South, and the deliverances increasingly stringent. The result was the voluntary withdrawal of nearly all the churches in the South connected with this assembly, and the organization, April 1st, 1858, of the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church.

Owing to these various retarding causes the growth of the New School body was slow. Its roll of communicants contained only thirty-two thousand more names in 1864 than it started with in 1838.

The Greater Prosperity of the Old School Church.—

The Old School Assembly had a much more rapid and healthy growth. It began its separate career with its ecclesiastical machinery in good working order; with a homogeneous membership, standing for a distinct type of doctrine, and with an earnest missionary spirit. In the South and West it had a fine field for expansion. Utilizing with commendable zeal its splendid resources, and availing itself of its fine openings it grew from 126,000 communicants in 1837 to 290,000 in 1860. The coming of the Civil War, of course, retarded its progress, and caused the loss in 1861 of nearly its entire southern constituency, amounting to about seventy thousand members.

Attitude of the Assemblies Toward Each Other.—

Up to the outbreak of the Civil War there was no evidence that the two bodies were drawing sensibly nearer together. It is true that the New School Assembly had been disburdened of the Plan of Union, and had come to prefer its own agencies to voluntary societies in the conduct of home missions, education, and publication. But it was still in partnership with the Congregationalists in the work of foreign missions; it still had a great many "Presbygational" churches, as they were called, non-descript organizations inherited from the Plan of Union; above all, it was still as tolerant as it ever had been of doctrinal divergencies, and stood uncompromisingly for a liberal construction of the constitution. Such was the New School Church in 1861; and up to this date, the Old School Assembly had refused to listen to any overtures for closer relations. It had even refused on one occasion to join with the New School Assembly in celebrating the Lord's Supper.

Reunion of the Assemblies, 1870.—The war between the sections brought new issues to the front. The passions of men were deeply stirred; and very naturally those who entertained common views touching the matters involved in the great civil strife were drawn together. In the profound solitudes and intense excitements of the present, the contentions over doctrinal and speculative questions belonging to the past dwindled into insignificance.

So early as 1862, the Old School Assembly took the initiative of proposing an annual interchange of fraternal delegates. The New School responded to the proposal with great heartiness; and the very next year the interchange took place, with marked effect on the rising tide of fraternal feeling. In 1866, both assemblies met in St. Louis, and the last lingering spark of mutual distrust and animosity was extinguished by a free interchange of views and sentiments.

At this meeting of the assemblies, committees of conference were appointed to arrange a platform for reunion. This committee during three successive years sought for a doctrinal basis of agreement. They had for a starting point the fact that both bodies had the same confessional standards. It was known, however, that these standards did not mean the same thing to both bodies. The effort was therefore made to formulate an interpretation of the standards in such vague and general terms as that each party could accept it and put its own meaning on it. The effort proved unavailing, and finally the suggestion was made that they come together on the "basis of the standards pure and simple." This suggestion was submitted to the presbyteries of both assemblies, and after being accepted by them, the assemblies ratified the

agreement, and were merged into one body in 1870. The reunited Church resolved to celebrate the happy reunion by raising a thank-offering of \$5,000,000. The effort resulted in the gratifying sum of \$7,607,491.

Progress Since Reunion, and Present Condition of the Church.—Ever since the reunion, the spirit of the Church has been earnestly aggressive. It has pressed its work with unremitting zeal, both at home and abroad. Its growth has been commensurate with its zeal. At the time the two churches became one, their combined membership was 446,561. This number had been swelled to 1,094,908 in 1904. No church in this country has a more enviable record for world-wide missionary effort. With commendable wisdom it divides its forces so as to broaden the basis of operations at home to keep pace with the ever-enlarging demands of the work abroad. Its Board of Home Missions directs the labors of a great army of missionaries, scattered thickly over forty states and territories. Its foreign mission work is carried on in one hundred and twenty-seven principal stations, representing nearly all the countries of the heathen world.

Indications of Conservatism in Doctrine.—Some famous heresy trials have been a marked feature of Church-life since the reunion. Especially worthy of notice are the decisions against Prof. David Swing in 1874, Dr. Charles A. Briggs, 1893, Dr. Henry Preserved Smith, 1894, and Prof. A. C. McGiffert, 1899. Prof. David Swing, who was accused of denying the divinity of Christ, after having been acquitted by the Presbytery of Chicago, withdrew from the Presbyterian Church before his case could be brought before the General Assembly. Drs. Briggs and Smith were suspended from the ministry for holding and teaching doctrines at variance with the

word of God and the standards of the Church. The views of Dr. McGiffert, as found in his published writings, were condemned, and the attention of his presbytery was called to them by the General Assembly. He did not wait for the action of the presbytery, but quietly withdrew from the Church. These three distinguished professors, one occupying a chair in Lane Seminary, and the other two occupying chairs in Union Seminary, N. Y., were all in the same category. Their defections were due to their having adopted the methods, and accepted many of the radical results of the higher criticism. The fact that their admitted scholarship, their eminent position and their personal popularity could not save them from the official censures of the Church, would indicate that the Church was healthily orthodox, and soundly conservative.

Revision of the Standards, 1903.—In 1889 the General Assembly took up the subject of revision, and submitted to the presbyteries certain questions, calling for an expression of their wishes in the matter. A considerable majority of the presbyteries expressed a desire for revision. Whereupon the General Assembly appointed a committee to take the matter in hand. After a few tentative efforts in which the presbyteries failed to reach an agreement as to the form and extent of the desired revision, the subject was laid aside. In 1900, the assembly, moved thereto by the importunity of a number of presbyteries, revived the project. This second effort was brought to what the Church regarded, with remarkable unanimity, as a happy consummation in 1903. The revision consists of three parts: (1) Two declaratory statements, explaining Chapter III of the Confession of Faith, touching God's eternal decree; and Chapter X,

Section 3, concerning elect infants ; (2) slight changes in the text of three relatively-unimportant articles of the confession ; and (3) the addition of two chapters to the Confession of Faith—one on the Holy Spirit, and the other on the Love of God and Missions. When the assembly resolved to enter on the work of revision, it was with the express understanding “ that the revision shall in no way impair the integrity of the system of doctrine set forth in the confession and taught in the holy Scripture.” One year after the revision was adopted, the General Assembly deliberately declared that the revision had not impaired the system of doctrine contained in the confession. Thus it would appear that the Church claims to be as genuinely and thoroughly Calvinistic as it ever was.

A Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith.—The assembly of 1902 adopted a “ Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith,” comprising sixteen articles. The previous assembly explained that this brief statement was “ to be prepared with a view to its being employed to give information and a better understanding of our doctrinal beliefs, and not with a view to its becoming a substitute for, or an alternative of, our Confession of Faith.” The sixteen articles bear on their face that the assembly had in mind to present the doctrines of Calvinism in untechnical language and thus render them more easily understood by the mass of the people. But while doing this, the assembly put itself on record as purposing to continue to test the orthodoxy of its ministry by the Confession of Faith. If faithful to this purpose, the truth as held by the fathers will suffer little or no harm from the revision of the standards. The design of the brief statement is to inform and conciliate the people, not to widen

the door of entrance to the ministry. The only cause for apprehension is that "the spirit of inquiry which has resulted in present changes will require further progress and additional statements."

Movement Toward Closer Relations with Other Churches.—In response to overtures from a number of presbyteries, the General Assembly of 1903 appointed a committee "to consider the whole subject of coöperation, confederation and consolidation with other churches." This committee met in conference a similar committee appointed by the General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church; and the two committees formulated a "Plan of Union," which they reported to their respective assemblies in 1904. This plan recommends that "the union shall be effected on the doctrinal basis of the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, as revised in 1903, and of its other doctrinal and ecclesiastical standards; and the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments shall be acknowledged as the inspired word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and practice."

In order to a fuller understanding, a number of "concurrent declarations" were submitted along with the Basis of Union to the two assemblies. In these "concurrent declarations" it is stated that "in adopting the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, as revised in 1903, as a Basis of Union, it is mutually recognized that such agreement now exists between the systems of doctrine contained in the Confessions of Faith, of the two churches, as to warrant this union,—a union honoring alike to both. It is recognized also that the doctrinal deliverance contained in the brief statement of the Reformed Faith, adopted in 1902 by the

General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 'for a better understanding of our doctrinal beliefs,' reveals a doctrinal agreement favorable to reunion." These statements made it clear that the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was favorable to reunion on the ground that the revised confession and the brief statement contained a modified form of Calvinism in substantial accord with that held by the Cumberland Church. In other words, the Cumberland Church was ready to unite with the Northern Church on the basis of the latter's standards because these standards had come to be substantially identical with its own. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, meeting in Buffalo, N. Y., May, 1904, approved this "Plan of Union," by an overwhelming vote, and sent it down to the presbyteries for their adoption. In doing so, the assembly simply declared its sympathy with movements intended to secure the union of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States into one body.

Outlook for the Future.—Splendid as have been the achievements of this Church in the past, it is manifestly entering on a career of much larger achievement. Its vast and varied resources of strength, its earnest and energetic spirit of evangelism, and its thoroughly-organized and well-equipped agencies give promise of rapid and indefinite expansion, of great and glorious triumphs for the kingdom of Christ. All lovers of Zion, and especially all who cherish, as a precious treasure, the doctrines of the Reformed Faith, must watch with profound interest the onward march of this mighty division of the sacramental hosts. In numbers, in wealth, and in the wide sweep of its manifold activities, it is by far the greatest

Presbyterian Church in the world. Numerically weaker than two other denominations in the United States, yet, owing to the intelligent, thrifty and cultured character of its constituency, it probably exerts a more powerful influence than any other church on the destinies of our republic.

CHAPTER X

UNITED STATES (*Continued*)

The Presbyterian Church in the United States.—The cause that brought about the Civil War of 1861–65 made the organization of the Southern Presbyterian Church inevitable. The nation could not divide without rending the Church. Slavery was the leading cause in dividing the country. At first it was an institution common to all sections of the land; but in course of time it became localized in the South. Moral and religious motives had little, or nothing, to do with this localization. The causes for it were purely economic.

In the early history of the country there was little scruple of conscience on the subject of slavery, unless among the Quakers. When, by and by, conscience did begin to make its protest, this protest was wide-spread and earnest in the region where slavery existed. When it took the form of antislavery societies, these were more numerous in the South than in the North. Unfortunately for the continued development of a healthy antislavery sentiment, an opposition sprang up in New England, which, not appreciating conditions in the South, took on what was regarded as an extreme form. Its spirit and methods provoked resentment, and created alarm throughout the South. The attitude of the sections toward the institution of slavery rapidly changed. The South, thrown on the defensive, disbanded its antislavery societies, lost interest in schemes of colonization, and

planted itself squarely on its constitutional right to hold slaves. The opposition sentiment spread from New England through the North. Controversy embittered both sides. A political party was formed on the basis of no further extension of slavery. The South looked upon this as a violation of the constitutional compact on which the Federal Government was founded. Hence when Abraham Lincoln led this new party to victory in 1860, the Southern states construed this as a virtual dissolution of the bond of national unity, and at once began to assert in a practical manner their right of secession.

Political Excitement in Church Courts.—When the General Assembly of the Old School Presbyterian Church met in Philadelphia in 1861, the fires of civil strife had been already kindled. The delegates who composed the assembly were divided in their allegiance. The occasion was, therefore, a most remarkable one. It called for the greatest prudence and patience, a gentleness, delicacy and self-control that could hardly be expected of any but the perfectly sanctified.

When the delegates came together in 1861, they came with the convictions which had been gathering strength through the years, and which were bursting forth, North and South, in flames of civil war. Some of these delegates believed that slavery was a grievous sin; that secession was rebellion; and that disobedience to the Federal Government was treason. Others believed that slavery had the sanction of God's word; that secession was a constitutional right; and that disobedience to the Federal Government, when demanded by one's state, was an act of patriotic duty. What ground was there to hope that an assembly thus constituted could permanently hold together?

Political Deliverances.—In both sections of the Church, political excitement was running high, and was making itself manifest to some extent in the pulpits and courts of the Church. One of the first political deliverances was by the Synod of South Carolina which passed the following resolution: “Resolved, the synod has no hesitation, therefore, in expressing the belief that the people of South Carolina are now solemnly called on to imitate their Revolutionary forefathers, and stand up for their rights. We have an humble and abiding confidence that that God, whose truth we represent in this conflict, will be with us; and, exhorting our people and churches to put their trust in God and go forward in the solemn path of duty, which his providence opens before them, we, elders and members of the Presbyterian churches in South Carolina Synod assembled, would give them our benediction, and the assurance that we shall fervently and unceasingly implore for them the care and protection of Almighty God.”

Evidently the Presbyterians of the South were in full political sympathy with the movement for dismembering the general Government. Their sympathy was actively assisting in this disintegrating work. The Presbyterians of the North were just as heartily and actively in sympathy with the effort forcibly to put a stop to the movement. Was it reasonable to expect that those who were political enemies would meet together in the courts of the Church, and preserve intact the bonds of ecclesiastical brotherhood?

The “Spring Resolutions.”—It was evident that if the General Assembly of 1861 should give expression to any sentiments concerning the conflict that was on between the sections, a violent controversy would be precipitated,

and perhaps the result would be a division of the Church. For some while after the assembling of the body, the effort to keep out political discussion was successful. But there was a strong demand from the outside that this assembly should put itself on record touching the grave issues that were threatening the life of the Government. And there were members of the assembly who felt that the Church owed a duty to a distracted country; and that it should discharge this duty, even at the risk of dividing its own constituency. Accordingly on the sixth day of the session, resolutions were introduced providing for a day of fasting and prayer "that God would turn away his anger from us, and speedily restore to us the blessings of an honorable peace." Had the resolutions stopped here all could have acquiesced, but the assembly proceeded to declare "our obligation to promote and perpetuate, so far as in us lies, the integrity of the United States, and to strengthen, uphold and encourage the Federal Government in the exercise of all its functions under our noble constitution; and to this constitution, in all its provisions, requirements and principles, we profess our unabated loyalty." These resolutions, known as the "Spring Resolutions," because offered at first by Dr. Gardner Spring, were adopted by a vote of one hundred and fifty-six to sixty-six.

The Protest of Dr. Hodge and Others.—The character and purport of these resolutions, as they were, and still are, regarded by the Presbyterians of the South, cannot be set forth more clearly than they were set forth at the time in the protest offered by the eminent theologian, Dr. Charles Hodge, and signed by himself and fifty-seven members of the assembly, including fourteen of the sixteen commissioners who were present from the South.

In this protest the signers declare: "We make this protest, not because we do not acknowledge loyalty to our country to be a moral and religious duty, according to the word of God which requires us to be subject to the powers that be, nor because we deny the right of the assembly to enjoin that and all other like duties on the ministers and churches under its care, but because we deny the right of the General Assembly to decide the political question to what government the allegiance of Presbyterians, as citizens, is due, and its right to make that decision a condition of membership in our Church."

Withdrawal of Southern Presbyteries and Synods.—The Presbyterians of the South believing, whether rightly or wrongly, that the General Assembly in passing a resolution which put into the mouth of all who were represented in it "a declaration of loyalty and allegiance to the Union and to the Federal Government," had transcended its constitutional right, had no scruples of conscience about renouncing their allegiance to the Church of their fathers. During the summer and fall of 1861, forty-seven presbyteries in the South by formal official action severed their organic connection with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The synods to which these presbyteries belonged ratified their action. Each of these synods, having withdrawn from the central authority, was for the time being independent. But as they were all in hearty accord politically, and at one in other respects, they promptly sought a bond of unity in another central authority.

Organization of the First Assembly.—A convention, representing a number of presbyteries, met in Atlanta in August of 1861, and arranged for an orderly meeting of

a General Assembly to be held in Augusta, Georgia, on the 4th day of the following December. Accordingly ninety-three ministers and ruling elders, commissioned for that purpose, met at the time and place appointed. They effected a temporary organization by selecting the Rev. Francis McFarland, D. D., to preside, and the Rev. B. M. Palmer, D. D., to preach the opening sermon. After the sermon, the assembly was permanently organized by electing Dr. Palmer moderator, and the Rev. Joseph R. Wilson, stated clerk.

Immediately after the organization, the assembly proceeded to choose a name and adopt a constitution, which it did in the following resolutions:—

1. That the style and title of this Church shall be: The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.

2. That this assembly declare, in conformity with the unanimous decision of our presbyteries, that the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Form of Government, the Book of Discipline, and the Directory of Worship, which together make up the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, are the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.

An Address to the Churches of Jesus Christ Throughout the World.—Early in the sessions of this first assembly a committee was appointed to prepare an address which should publish to the Christian world the reasons for the new organization, and its attitude toward certain questions of general interest. The chairman of this committee, and the author of the able and eloquent address was the Rev. James Henley Thornwell, D. D. In this address two reasons are assigned for separation:—

1. "In the first place, the course of the last assembly, at Philadelphia, conclusively shows that if we remain together, the political questions which divide us, as citizens, will be obtruded into the Church courts, and discussed with all the bitterness and rancor with which such questions are discussed by men of the world. Our assembly would present a mournful spectacle of strife and debate."

(The address proceeds to argue that separation is therefore necessary in the interest of peace and Christian charity.)

2. "Though the immediate occasion of separation was the course of the General Assembly at Philadelphia in relation to the Federal Government and the war, yet there is another ground on which the independent organization of the Southern Church can be amply and scripturally maintained."

This other ground was that churches should be bounded by national limits. Inasmuch, therefore, as the presbyteries in the South had, in the Providence of God, been placed under a new national government, they should conform their organization to these new limits. While the address asserts that this is a sufficient ground to justify separation from the Church of the fathers, it strongly insists that this separation does not mean that the Presbyterians of the South have ceased to love the old Church, or have abjured its ancient principles, or forgotten its glorious history.

Organization of the Benevolent Work of the Church.—It devolved on this first assembly to shape the policy of the Church in the conduct of all its schemes of Christian beneficence, and to give practical effect to this policy. It appointed four executive committees, to which it intrusted the direction of foreign missions,

domestic missions, education and publication. The constitution of all these committees was the same. Before the division of the Church, Dr. Thornwell had contended for such a modification of the boards of the Church, as would bring them more directly under control of the General Assembly. His views found expression in the constitution of these executive committees. The committees are appointed for only one year; their powers are clearly defined and closely limited; and their work is kept under the immediate supervision of the General Assembly.

Since that first assembly, the Church has found it necessary for the more efficient prosecution of its work to create two other executive committees, one of Colored Evangelization, in 1891, and one of Ministerial Relief, in 1901. The two committees of Ministerial Education and of Ministerial Relief were consolidated by the assembly of 1904. So that at the present time, the Church carries on its benevolent work through five executive agencies, and carries it on in a thoroughly systematic and satisfactory way.

The Church During the Civil War.—Of course, the Church shared in the disasters that laid waste the whole South during the terrible years between 1861-65. It had to move its executive agencies from place to place, according to the changing fortunes of the war. When one assembly was dissolved it was a matter of much uncertainty where and when the next would meet. The one appointed to meet in Macon, Georgia, in the spring of 1865, could not meet there until the succeeding December. The inferior courts were in like manner thrown into confusion and hindered in their regular work.

The Church maintained, however, in the midst of all

discouragements, a vigorous life, furnishing chaplains for the army, and caring as best it could for the congregations which in the providence of God were committed to its trust. It gave constant and earnest attention to the religious instruction of the colored people, devoting to this work some of its finest pulpit talent. It was also privileged to do some effective mission work among the Indians.

At the close of the war, its people were impoverished ; the flower of its young men had been slain in battle ; and many of its church buildings were in ashes. In these distressing circumstances, the assembly gratefully acknowledged timely help received from the " Board of Aid for Southern Pastors," located in Louisville, Ky. ; and for similar generosity shown by churches in Baltimore.

Union With the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church.—This Church was organized in 1858 out of the southern contingent of the New School Assembly, as a practical protest against the deliverances of that assembly on the subject of slavery.

The propriety of seeking a union with the United Synod was brought to the attention of the assembly, during its sessions in Columbia, S. C., in 1863, by an overture from the Presbytery of East Hanover. Committees of conference were appointed by both bodies which met in Lynchburg, Virginia, in the July following, and found little difficulty in framing a platform on which both churches could stand.

The difference between these churches did not have respect to doctrine so much as to questions of ecclesiastical polity involved in the excising resolutions which consummated the division of the Church in 1837. When,

therefore, this union was formed, it was without the slightest doctrinal concession, or compromise, on the part of either body. They not only adopted the same standards, but adopted them *ex animo* and in the same sense. The result was a perfect fusion, leaving no mark or scar to show where the old line of cleavage had run.

By this union the Southern Presbyterian Church received an accession of about one hundred and twenty ministers, one hundred and ninety churches, and twelve thousand communicants.

Affairs in the Synod of Kentucky.—In the great upheaval of 1861–1865, the Synod of Kentucky adhered to the Northern Assembly. At the same time, it avowed its purpose to steer clear of all political entanglements. It “enjoined on all its members, and upon all under its control and care to avoid all divisive and schismatical courses, to cultivate the peace of the Church, and to practice great mutual forbearance.” It deplored the schism which had occurred in the Southern states, and condemned it as without sufficient justification. On the other hand, it expressed regret that the General Assembly had taken the action which furnished the chief pretext for it. The assembly, at its next meeting, when the minutes of the Synod of Kentucky came before it for review, censured the synod for having disapproved its action of the previous year. This was the beginning of a strife between these two bodies which waxed more and more bitter until it culminated in separation.

The Declaration and Testimony.—In 1865, the General Assembly declared that all who approved of slavery and abetted the rebellion were guilty of heresy and treason, and enjoined the different courts under its jurisdiction to admit none to their fellowship who had

been guilty of these sins, except on evidence of sincere repentance.

In view of this injunction, the Presbytery of Louisville put forth a paper that became notable as "The Declaration and Testimony." This was a protest against what the presbytery was pleased to call "the erroneous and heretical doctrines and practices which had obtained and been propagated in the Presbyterian Church in the United States during the last five years." This paper brought matters to an acute crisis.

The Gurley *Ipsa Facto* Resolutions.—When the assembly met in St. Louis in 1866, one of the first things to engage its attention was the "Declaration and Testimony." The commissioners from the Louisville Presbytery were deprived of their seats in the Assembly while the matter was pending. The result was the adoption of a series of vigorous resolutions, citing the signers of the Declaration and Testimony to appear before the next assembly to answer for what they had done, and forbidding them in the meantime to sit as members of any Church court higher than the session. It was further resolved that if any presbytery should refuse obedience to this action of the Assembly, such disobedience should *ipso facto* dissolve the presbytery. The synods were also required to be guided by this action of the Assembly in making up their rolls at their next stated meetings.

Division of the Synod of Kentucky.—The Synod of Kentucky, at its next fall meeting, disregarded the action of the Assembly. Whereupon Dr. R. J. Breckenridge withdrew, taking with him thirty-one other ministers, and twenty-eight ruling elders, representing one thousand and eight hundred communicants. One hundred and eight ministers, representing nine thousand and eight hundred

communicants stood together against the Assembly. The Assembly of 1867 recognized the seceders who followed Dr. Breckenridge as the true synod and declared the regular synod and its presbyteries to be no true courts of the Lord Jesus Christ. These, however, still accounted themselves the constitutional Synod of Kentucky.

Union With the Southern Assembly.—Considering the action of the Northern Assembly as having severed their connection with that body, they immediately sought admittance to the Southern Assembly. A comparison of views revealed an essential harmony and consequently a union was speedily consummated. Commissioners from the presbyteries of Kentucky appeared, and were admitted to membership in the Assembly of 1868.

Union With the Synod of Missouri.—This synod went through an experience, in all essential respects, similar to that of Kentucky. It had among its members some who had signed the "Declaration and Testimony." It refused to discipline them according to the requirement of the "Gurley *ipso facto* resolutions," and expressed disapproval of what it termed the unconstitutional and unjust deliverances of the Assembly. For this it was called to account, and refusing submission was cut off. For a number of years it maintained an independent position. At length, in 1874, a large part of it united with the Southern Assembly.

Addition of Several Smaller Bodies.—The Independent Presbyterian Church, a small brotherhood in North and South Carolina, was brought into the Southern Assembly in 1863; the Presbytery of Patapsco, in Maryland in 1867; the Alabama Presbytery of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, with permission

to continue to sing exclusively Rouse's version of the Psalms, in 1867; and the Associate Reformed Presbytery of Kentucky in 1870.

The union with all these various bodies "brought in about 282 ministers, 490 churches, and 35,600 communicants." As the union, in every case, was on the basis of perfect doctrinal affinity, there has been no resultant evil. The Church as it stands to-day is one living organism, with no scars on its body to show that any grafting has been done. The ten synods have expanded into thirteen; the forty-seven presbyteries into seventy-nine; and the sixty-five thousand white communicants into two hundred and thirty nine thousand.

Relations with the Northern Assembly.—In 1870, immediately after the union of the Old School and New School Assemblies at the North, the united body made friendly overtures to the Southern Church, asking that a committee of conference be appointed to meet a similar committee of their own church, to see if it were not practicable to find a basis for closer relations between the two churches. The Southern Assembly granted the request but accompanied the appointment of the committee with "instructions," setting forth grave charges made by both Old School and New School Assemblies against the character of Southern Presbyterians. It was asserted that these charges presented a serious difficulty in the way of closer relations, and that they must be distinctly met and removed. Owing to these "instructions" which were construed as a virtual prejudging of the matters to be considered in conference, the committee of the Northern Assembly declined to meet for conference.

A Second Unsuccessful Effort to Bring About Closer Relations.—In 1874, overtures were renewed, and again committees of conference were appointed by both assemblies. These committees met in Baltimore, and discussed very fully the obstacles which lay in the way of closer relations. This time the committee of the Southern Church was not instructed, but evidently it deemed the former "instructions" as still expressing the mind of the church. Consequently it suggested as a condition precedent to fraternal relations: "If your Assembly could see its way clear to say in a few plain words, to this effect, that these obnoxious things were said and done in times of great excitement and are to be regretted, and that now on a calm review, the imputations cast on the Southern Church (of schism, heresy and blasphemy) are disapproved, that would end the difficulty at once." The committee of the Northern Assembly declined to recommend such a retraction to their Assembly, on the ground that their Assembly had already said enough in recent deliverances, in reaffirming its adherence to constitutional principles, and in expressing its confidence in the Christian character of the Southern Presbyterian Church, to afford a basis for fraternal relations.

Fraternal Relations Established.—In 1882, the Southern Assembly took the initiative in an effort to remove all grounds of offense, and adopted the following: "In order to remove all difficulties in the way of that full and formal fraternal correspondence which on our part we are prepared to accept, we adopt the following minute,—that while receding from no principle, we do hereby declare our regret for, and our withdrawal of, all expressions of our Assembly which may be regarded as reflecting upon, or offensive to, the General Assembly

of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

“Resolved, that a copy of this paper be sent by telegraph to the General Assembly, now in session at Springfield, Illinois, for their prayerful consideration, and *mutatis mutandis*, for their reciprocal concurrence, as affording a basis for the exchange of delegates forthwith.”

On receipt of this telegram, the Northern Assembly adopted a reply couched in the same language, and renewed its expression “of warm fraternal regard for all who compose the communion of the Southern Church,” and declared its readiness to exchange delegates forthwith.

This reply was received by the Southern Assembly with sentiments of warmest satisfaction.

A Resolution that “Explained.”—Thus a wide and painful breach was apparently healed, and feelings of perfect fraternity restored. But a note of discord was thrown in by a telegram from the moderator of the Northern Assembly, telling of a resolution of that assembly to the effect “that in the action now being taken we disclaim any reference to the actions of preceding assemblies concerning loyalty and rebellion, but we refer only to those concerning schism, heresy and blasphemy.” This necessitated another interchange of telegrams—one from the Southern Assembly to know if it was the intention of the Northern Assembly to “modify” the concurrent resolution by the subsequent resolution; and a reply from the Northern Assembly saying it was not their intention to “modify,” but to “explain.” This was declared satisfactory by the Southern Assembly, and so fraternal relations between the two churches were an ac-

complished fact. Delegates were appointed by each assembly to carry salutations to the other at their next annual meeting.

Cooperation of the Two Assemblies in Christian Work.—Since the establishment of fraternal relations in 1882, efforts have been made from time to time to bring the two churches into closer coöperation. These efforts have proved in a measure successful. Coöperation has been brought about in the work of foreign missions, in publication, and recently in education in the states of Missouri and Kentucky, as respects Westminster College, Centre University, and Louisville Theological Seminary.

Revived Interest in Closer Relations with Other Presbyterian Bodies.—A wide-spread interest is manifesting itself touching closer relations with several Presbyterian bodies. A number of presbyteries sent overtures to the assembly which met in May, 1904, in Mobile, Alabama, asking the appointment of a committee of conference on the subject. Some of these presbyteries specified the Dutch Reformed Church as one with which closer relations were especially desired; other presbyteries singled out the Northern Presbyterian Church.

On the second day of the assembly's sessions, it received the following telegram: "The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, in session at Buffalo, has adopted, with only one dissenting vote, the following resolutions:—

"Whereas, It is known that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, now in session in Mobile, Alabama, has before it overtures from several of its presbyteries, looking to closer relations with this Assembly, and

"Whereas, We earnestly desire to remove all obstacles

to such relations; therefore, be it Resolved that this General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America hereby removes all aspersions and charges of any and every kind made by previous assemblies reflecting on the Christian character of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and is ready at any time to confer on the subject of closer relations whenever such conference shall be agreeable to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States."

Appointment of a Committee of Conference.—The assembly in Mobile heard the foregoing telegram with much gratification; and sent a response as follows: "The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States learns with joy of the action of your assembly in the removal of all aspersions upon the Christian character of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and declares its readiness to follow the leadings of providence in the matter of closer relations, overtures touching which are now before us for consideration."

When these overtures were considered by the Assembly, the result was the appointment of a committee of conference, not charged, however, with the specific duty of conferring with representatives of the Northern Church, but "authorized and empowered to confer with similar committees that may be appointed by other Presbyterian and Reformed churches." The assembly specified that its committee was to confer on the subject of closer relations with such churches as enter the conference with a view to discover:—

"1. The real sentiments of the churches on the subject.

"2. The leadings of God's providence in the matter.

“ 3. The obstacles that may stand in the way of closer fellowship.

“ 4. Whether and how such obstacles can be removed.

“ 5. And what may be the nature and form of the relation which shall best secure effective coöperation, by federation or otherwise, and at the same time preserve loyalty to those great principles for which the various churches have been called to testify.”

The heart of the Southern Church is profoundly interested in the great Church, of which it once formed a part, whose early history it helped to make, and by whose present power it is sensibly affected. Lying contiguous and in part overlapping, the two churches cannot be separated in influence.

Characteristics of the Southern Presbyterian Church.

1. Perhaps the most prominent characteristic of this church is jealous loyalty to the Westminster Standards. It holds with unwavering firmness to the undiluted Calvinism of those standards. It acknowledges no need of any new statement of old truth, but continues satisfied with the statement furnished by the heroic and godly men of the seventeenth century.

2. This jealous loyalty demands of the ministry strict creed-subscription. Such liberty of dissent in minor matters as was granted by the Adopting Act of 1729 is still permitted, but there must be no uncertain sound touching the doctrinal system of the Confession. The law requires that every presbytery shall cause to be transcribed in some convenient part of its book of records the obligations required of ministers at their ordination, which shall be subscribed by all admitted to membership in the following form: “ I, A. B., do *ex animo* receive

and subscribe the above obligation as a just and true exhibition of my faith and principles, and do resolve and promise to exercise my ministry in conformity thereunto."

3. The church stresses the principle that "synods and councils are to handle, or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical, and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs." Interpreting this with rigid literalness, the church excludes from its courts all discussion of political questions, and refuses alliance with any organizations that aim merely at social or political reforms.

4. It stands by the "plenary verbal inspiration" of the Bible, believing that this is the claim which the Bible makes for itself. Its views touching the inerrancy of the Scriptures have not been affected perceptibly by the finding of what claims to be the highest and broadest scholarship in the sphere of biblical criticism.

5. It has not yet given up certain traditional interpretations, which have been generally discarded:—

(a) While thoroughly satisfied, and more than satisfied, with the destruction of slavery as it formerly existed in the South, it continues to believe, as did the Old School Assembly in 1845, that the word of God sanctions the institution of slavery.

(b) It persists in maintaining, as did the undivided Church in 1832 that to "teach and exhort, or to lead in prayer in public and promiscuous assemblies, is clearly forbidden to women in the Holy Oracles."

6. It has committed itself to the policy of a separate church for the colored people. It has been moved thereto, (a) by deference to the wishes of the colored people; (b) by the conviction that the increased responsibility would best develop the colored people; and (c) by

the apprehension of social embarrassments which might result from ecclesiastical mixture.

By this policy of an independent African Church, it has not meant to cast off the colored people from its sympathy and help. It maintains a school for educating colored preachers; contributes to the support of their churches; organizes and conducts colored Sabbath schools; and thus in various ways continues to manifest a practical interest in the religious life of the colored people.

CHAPTER XI

UNITED STATES (*Continued*)

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church.—Few churches have had a more humble beginning than the Cumberland Presbyterian. It came into distinct existence on the 4th day of February, 1810, in the log-cabin home of the Rev. Samuel McAdow, in Dickson County, Tennessee. This venerable minister joined with two others, Finis Ewing and Samuel King in the organization of an independent presbytery. These two latter were young men, who had been brought into the ministry in an irregular manner, and their ordination was never recognized by the Church from which they were seceding. They met at the home of Mr. McAdow because he was too infirm to meet with them elsewhere. Surely these first elements of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church were "the weak things of the world." But it is the prerogative of God to take the weak things and "confound the mighty."

Ministry of the Rev. James McGready.—The founding of this new church was the result of troubles, growing out of the great revival that marked the opening years of the nineteenth century. The revival began in Kentucky under the ministry of the Rev. James McGready. He was a native of North Carolina, and was educated by the Rev. John McMillan at his famous school in western Pennsylvania. In 1796, he moved from North Carolina to Logan County, Kentucky, and became pastor of three

congregations with the euphonious names of Gaspar River, Red River, and Muddy River. His parishioners were hardy pioneers, many of them reckless adventurers from the older colonies. Probably in all the wild border territory, no more irreligious population could have been found than that which made up the young state of Kentucky. The whole country was still feeling the demoralizing effects of the Revolutionary War, and the influx of French infidelity which belonged to that period. But nowhere did ungodliness in all its forms take deeper root, or flourish more vigorously than in Kentucky. In 1793, the Legislature passed an act, dispensing with public prayer in its sessions. No man ever had more need of faith and courage than did the Rev. James McGready. Fortunately for the future of that country, few men have had greater faith and courage than he. Finding a few Christians who knew how to pray and were willing to pray, he formed them into an aggressive band. They entered into the following covenant: "We bind ourselves to observe the third Saturday in each month for one year as a day of fasting and prayer for the conversion of sinners in Logan County and throughout the world. We engage to spend half an hour every Saturday evening, beginning with set of sun, and half an hour every Sabbath morning at the rising of the sun, in pleading with God to revive his work."

The Revival and Its Consequences.—The praying band was formed in 1796. In May of the next year, the little cloud not bigger than a man's hand appeared. It grew larger and larger till it overspread all the heavens in parts of Kentucky and Tennessee, and gave forth "showers of blessing." The history of the Church in this country furnishes no more striking illustration of the

fact that "the Lord will hear his chosen when they cry."

As the revival spread and grew in power, some irregularities began to manifest themselves. Those leading the movement were not so much concerned for the way in which sinners were brought to repentance, as for the actual bringing of them to repentance. Perhaps, they were too little careful to see that everything was done decently and in order. But after all people will differ, even good people, as to what constitutes decency and order, and further as to how much relative importance should be attached to these things. So it came to pass that two parties sprang up, and the history of the "Great Awakening" of 1740 repeated itself. One party was heart and soul in sympathy with the revival, made it their aim to promote it and to secure from it the largest possible harvest of professed conversions. If to any of this party the disorders were objectionable, the joy at seeing sinners crying for mercy so far outweighed all that was objectionable as to make the latter scarcely worth a thought. The other party was completely alienated by the disorders. They could see no good equal to the evils that were incident to the great emotional excitement. Some of these objectors were good men, overcautious, perhaps, but they firmly believed that the revival was little else than wildfire that would soon burn over the ground, burn itself out, and leave matters worse than they were before. Others objected because they had little or no sympathy with religious aggressiveness. But despite opposition, the revival continued to spread and deepen for the space of three years.

Extraordinary Manifestations, Mental and Physical.—It is probable that the emotional excitement at-

tending some of the meetings, during this revival, has not been exceeded by anything of like kind in the history of the Church. A writer describing it says: "It was sublime, grand, awful. The noise was like the roar of Niagara. The vast sea of human beings was agitated as if by a storm. The tide of emotion seemed to roll over them like tumultuous waves. Sometimes hundreds were swept down almost at once, like the trees of the forest under the blast of the wild tornado. Seven ministers, some in wagons, others standing on stumps, might have been seen, all addressing the multitude at the same time. Of the people, some were singing, others praying, others crying aloud for mercy, others still, shouting most vociferously, while hardened men, who, with horrid imprecations, rushed furiously into the praying circles, were smitten down as if by an invisible hand, and lay powerless, or racked by fearful spasms till their companions, beholding them, were palsied by terror. At times the scene was surpassingly terrible, and the boldest heart was unmanned. The infidel forgot his philosophy, and trembled till he sank to his knees, or fell to the earth. 'At one time,' says a spectator, 'I saw at least five hundred swept down in a moment, as if a battery of a thousand guns had opened on them; and then immediately followed shrieks and shouts that rent the very heavens. My hair rose upon my head, my whole frame trembled, the blood ran cold in my veins, and I fled to the woods.' Such is the testimony of one who would not have fallen to the ground for the whole of Kentucky, and who, when his feelings had become intense and insupportable sought to allay them by a dram of brandy."

In addition to these mental and spiritual phenomena there were others just as remarkable of a purely physical kind.

“ There were the falling, the jerking, the running, the dancing and the barking exercises. Individuals were seized by these, often in spite of studied resistance, and sometimes almost while the jest or open blasphemy was upon their lips.” The experiences were certainly remarkable, and no satisfactory psychological explanation of them can be given. Similar experiences are recorded of other revivals.

Formation and Character of Cumberland Presbytery.—At the beginning of the revival, the Presbytery of Transylvania covered the whole state of Kentucky. In 1799, it was divided into three; in 1802 it was again divided, and the new presbytery was named Cumberland. It comprised ten ministers, and they were equally divided on the subject of the revival. By the addition of the Rev. James Howe, who came from the Methodist Church, those who favored the revival gained a majority. As might be supposed, the majority assumed that they were the wise, and so proceeded to ordain, in the course of the next three years, several new preachers who were in accord with them. This gave them a good working majority, and henceforth they had everything their own way.

Complaint of the Minority to Synod.—In October, 1804, the minority of the Cumberland Presbytery complained to synod, charging the majority of the presbytery with ordaining young men, who were uneducated and unsound in the faith. The synod cited the members of the Cumberland Presbytery, complained of, to appear before its bar at its next meeting. It also appointed a committee to attend the next meeting of the presbytery, and look into its irregularities. The presbytery resented these acts of synod, and the members, whose conduct was under censure, refused to obey the summons.

A Commission Appointed by Synod with Plenary Powers.—At its meeting in 1805, the synod appointed a commission to confer with the Cumberland Presbytery, and empowered this commission to rectify whatever it found wrong in the previous doings of the presbytery. The commission met, and cited before it all the preachers, and licentiates of the presbytery. These all obeyed the citation. After some investigation the commission adopted a paper solemnly condemning the presbytery for having ordained and licensed men contrary to the constitution of the Church, and demanding that those so ordained and licensed should be reëxamined before the synod. The presbytery protested against this, and the young men refused to submit to reëxamination. The commission then rendered its verdict, declaring the young men, not only illiterate, but erroneous in sentiment, and that their ordination, or licensure, was therefore illegal, and prohibiting them from exhorting, or preaching, or administering the sacraments. The commission cited the older ministers for trial before the synod at its next meeting. They refused to appear; whereupon the synod, in October, 1806, suspended them from the ministry and dissolved the Cumberland Presbytery. During its brief existence this presbytery ordained four ministers, licensed seven, and received under its care a number of candidates and exhorters.

Failure to Obtain Redress through the General Assembly.—The suspended members of the dissolved presbytery felt aggrieved, and not unreasonably, at the action of the synod. They sought redress from the General Assembly, explaining the urgent demand for preachers growing out of the revival, and the impossibility of meeting this demand with a supply of regularly-

qualified preachers. In licensing young men of defective literary qualification, the presbytery had permitted them, in subscribing to the Confession of Faith, to except to the "idea of fatality," which they believed to be taught in the chapter on "God's Eternal Decrees." They explained to the General Assembly that they permitted this exception because of "the concise manner in which the highly-mysterious doctrine of divine decrees is therein expressed." Unfortunately for these brethren, they failed to lodge a formal complaint against the Synod of Kentucky in the manner prescribed by the Rules of Discipline. More than one assembly expressed a kindly concern for them, and a willingness to give them a hearing if they would seek redress in an orderly way. They, however, permitted the favorable opportunity to pass away unimproved, and the Synod of Kentucky ultimately succeeded in securing from the assembly an endorsement of its course. Nothing was now left to them but to submit and seek readmittance to the old Presbytery of Transylvania, to which they had been remanded when the Cumberland Presbytery was dissolved, or to set up a new and independent organization.

The Birth of a New Denomination.—At this juncture of affairs, the aggrieved brethren numbered six. When it was proposed to organize an independent presbytery, three of them withdrew and sought reconciliation with the old Church. One of the others could not see his way clear, and so there were only two left, Finis Ewing and Samuel King, who were ready to go forward. They were of the number of those whose ordinations were pronounced invalid. It seemed as if the repressive measures of the Synod of Kentucky were about to succeed. One possible way remained to these two young men to

carry out their purpose. Rev. Samuel McAdow, too infirm from age to meet with his brethren, had ever been an earnest promoter of the revival, and had helped to license and ordain Ewing and King. It occurred to them that he might join them, and thus furnish the requisite number for a new presbytery. They sought him at his home and laid the matter before him. He asked them to wait till the next morning for his answer. He spent the night in prayer, and the next morning assented to their request. Thus was brought into existence a church, which has had, in many respects, a remarkably successful career.

Rapid Growth of the Church.—When the new and independent Cumberland Presbytery was organized, there was before it an open door into a wide and promising field. Thousands of converts had been gathered into churches during the great revival, who were ready to welcome any kind of preachers, who could pray and exhort, and whose hearts were in sympathy with the new movement. Hence the infant church grew with amazing rapidity. In three years, the three preachers had developed into three presbyteries, and these, in October, 1813, formed the Cumberland Synod. This continued to be their supreme court until 1828, when it divided into four synods, and in May, 1829, a General Assembly was formed. At this time there were sixteen presbyteries. The church has never ceased to grow, though its rate of progress has been by no means so rapid in recent years. At present it numbers nearly two thousand ministers, about three thousand churches, and one hundred and eighty thousand communicants.

In addition to the fact that much material was ready to hand in the beginning of the church's career, it may

be further stated, as explaining its rapid growth, that its ministry has usually been imbued with a warm evangelistic zeal, and has been persistent in the use of revival methods. As a rule, its preachers have equaled or surpassed the Methodists in the use of "high pressure" methods. The mourner's bench, with stirring appeals to the feelings, has been a prominent instrument of propagandism. Born amidst scenes of wild excitement, the church has ever regarded such scenes as the fittest for the healthful development of piety and the rapid extension of the kingdom. While it has commended itself to many of the educated and thoughtful class, its success has been largely among those with whom appeals to the emotions are more effective than reasons and persuasion addressed to intellect and conscience.

Colored Cumberland Presbyterians.—At the close of the Civil War, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church had quite a considerable membership of colored people. In 1869, these asked to be set off by themselves. Their request was granted. They now have an assembly of their own, representing twenty presbyteries and about thirty thousand communicants.

Doctrinal Position of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.—The doctrinal position of this Church has not been so clearly defined as that of some other churches. What it has done at creed-making has been in the line of modification of the Westminster Standards. It claims to occupy a middle ground between Calvinism and Arminianism.

The first published statement of doctrine was put forth by the synod at its organization in 1813. The object was to show the points of departure from the Westminster Confession of Faith; and these points were stated in

the following form : " First, there are no eternal reprobates ; second, Christ died not for a part, but for all of mankind ; third, all infants, dying in infancy are saved through Christ and the sanctification of the spirit ; fourth, the spirit of God operates on the world, or, in other words, coextensively with the atonement of Christ, in such manner as to leave all men inexcusable." The same synod appointed a committee to prepare a fuller creed. The work of this committee consisted in revising the Westminster Confession. The changes were made principally in Chapters III and X, and these were made for the purpose of relieving the confession of the charges of fatalism and of damning infants. To extend God's eternal decrees to " whatsoever comes to pass," and then to predicate of them immutability is, in the view of the Cumberland Church, to teach fatalism. The revised Confession of Faith was adopted October 14, 1814, and continued to be the creed of the church down to 1883. At this time a second revision was adopted. This revision was merely in form of statement, leaving the doctrines unchanged.

Some of their writers sum up the points that discriminate the doctrinal position of the Cumberland Church from Calvinism on the one hand, and Arminianism on the other, in the three following statements :—

- " 1. All men must be born again or perish.
- " 2. All may be born again and not perish.
- " 3. None who are born again will perish."

On these propositions it may be remarked that the first is held tenaciously by both Calvinists and Arminians ; the second is hypothetical, and according to the conditions implied would be either rejected or accepted by both Calvinists and Arminians ; and the third is one of the historic doctrines of Calvinism. It did not need the

efforts of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church to demonstrate that there is no middle ground between Calvinism and Arminianism. The logical mind is shut up to one or the other. The space between them is "bridgeless and fathomless."

The Present Position of the Church.—In its own field, and in its own way, it may be said that the Cumberland Presbyterian Church has borne an honorable part in helping to build up the one kingdom of Christ. It has been conspicuously zealous and successful in home mission work, carrying the gospel, at the cost of heroic self-sacrifice, into many destitute regions. In 1828, its first missionary entered Texas. Nine years later the Texas Presbytery was formed, and this one presbytery has grown into twenty-seven, representing five hundred and fifty-one churches.

In 1852, it sent its first missionary to the foreign field, in the person of a consecrated young colored man. Since that time it has sent missionaries to Turkey, to Japan and Mexico. While its work in these fields is carried on in a very small way, yet the spirit of foreign missions is growing in the church, and promises better things for the future.

Its Educational Policy and Work.—The church was organized by ministers of limited education, and from the beginning refused to make a high standard of literary qualification a condition of entering the ministry. By this the Church did not mean to undervalue education, or discourage efforts for liberal attainments on the part of those seeking the ministry. The position of the Church is that while no one should be prohibited from preaching the gospel who has sufficient education to expound it clearly, at the same time facilities should be

provided by the church for thorough training, and those who wish to preach should be stimulated to secure the best preparation possible to their circumstances.

Its first college was founded at Princeton, Ky., in 1825, and was named Cumberland College. This institution was moved to Lebanon, Tenn., in 1842, and chartered as "Cumberland University." In addition to the academic department, it comprises a law school and a theological seminary. This is the church's principal school, but it has a number of other colleges and academies, scattered over its territory.

CHAPTER XII

UNITED STATES (*Continued*)

The Dutch Reformed Church.—Since 1867 the official name of this church has been the Reformed Church in America. But it continues to be known popularly as the Dutch Reformed, and this name will probably cling to it for years to come as designating the historic source of its origin. It is a daughter of the Church of Holland, and is entitled to the distinction of being the first church to organize a congregation on Presbyterian principles in the western hemisphere.

The Settlement of New Amsterdam.—Emigration from Holland to America dates from the year 1609, when Henry Hudson sailed up the river, which has since borne his name, in search of a northwest passage to India. He was sent on this quest by the Dutch East India Company, who hoped by traveling Westward to shorten the distance to the East. They were disappointed in this hope, but found compensation in the opening up of a profitable fur trade with the natives of the new world. Very soon after exploring the Hudson River, a number of armed trading posts were established along its shores. The country between the Connecticut and the Delaware rivers was called the New Netherlands, and it was fondly hoped that this would prove a permanent and valuable province of the mother country.

The first considerable colony was planted on the island of Manhattan, and this colony, after the coming of its

first governor in 1626, took the name of New Amsterdam.

The Beginning of Church Life.—The earliest colonists were not moved to cross the ocean from religious considerations. They were not, like the Puritans of New England, seeking an asylum from the oppressor, a place where they might worship God without fear, and build up a church according to their own views of scriptural teaching. They were first of all seeking to better their fortunes by buying furs in the cheapest market and selling them in the dearest. The interests of religion had to wait. No preachers came over for some years. The first to perform the public offices of religion were the *Kranken-besoeckers*, or comforters of the sick. These gathered the people on Sundays and read to them from the Scriptures and the creeds.

The Dutch West India Company.—In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was organized, and to it was committed the task of conquering and colonizing the western shores of the Atlantic from the Strait of Magellan to the North Pole, or as much thereof as they might find it convenient to undertake. They at once gave a fresh impetus to the settlement of the New Netherlands. In 1623, they brought over quite an addition to the colony on Manhattan Island. Many of these were originally from Belgium, the lower provinces of the Netherlands which had not been able to throw off the tyrannical yoke of Spain. Thousands of Protestants in that country took refuge in Holland, and afterwards numbers of them came to seek the larger liberty of the new world. These were known by the name of Walloons, and spoke the French language. But they were closely allied to the Dutch, were in fact a branch of the Dutch family, and

found a congenial home in New Amsterdam. As they had given up their country for the sake of religion their coming was a decided gain to the moral and spiritual interests of the young colony. Three years after these landed on the island, Peter Minuit, the first governor, arrived. He was an earnest Christian, having served as a deacon in the church of Wesel. Two years later came the first minister, the Rev. Jonas Michaelius, and the same year, 1628, he organized the first church, with fifty communicants, and the governor as one of the elders.

The Church During the Rule of the Dutch.—The Dutch West India Company was supreme in the affairs of the New Netherlands, its rule extending to church as well as state. It belonged to this company to send out and support preachers to meet the spiritual needs of the colonies. The members of the company seem not to have been deeply impressed with these needs. They were more concerned about the interests of commerce. Hence preachers were a scarce commodity in the Dutch settlements, and churches developed slowly. For thirty-six years from the date of the birth of the first church only eleven churches were organized, notwithstanding the fact that during all this while there was a steady stream of immigration from Holland. The principal church was in New Amsterdam, and most of the others were in the near neighborhood. One of considerable importance was at Fort Orange, where the city of Albany now stands. This was served by the most famous of the early Dutch preachers, Megapolensis. He was a man of great energy, courage and force of character. Learning the language of the Mohawks, he preached to them and gained such influence with them

as enabled him to save from torture and probably from death the distinguished Jesuit priest, Jogues. It has been claimed for Megapolensis that he was the first Protestant missionary to the Indians, but this claim can hardly be made good in face of the fact that years before this, Alexander Whitaker had converted and baptized Pocahontas, and by arduous labors in behalf of her people had well earned the title, "The Apostle to the Indians."

Relation of the Dutch to the Other Colonists.—The New Netherlands was under the same liberal laws as the mother country, and like the mother country welcomed to its protection the oppressed of other lands. It furnished an asylum for Francis Doughty and Richard Denton, who came with their congregations from New England, also to Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and others who were banished from Massachusetts. Quite a number of sects, including Independents, Lutherans, Presbyterians and Anabaptists found a refuge under the protecting shield of the generous Dutch. But during the reign of the strenuous Peter Stuyvesant a change came over the spirit of the Netherlanders. Their efforts to prevent the Lutherans from securing a minister, and establishing a church and worship of their own, were for a time successful, but at length the liberal spirit of Holland prevailed, and the West India Company promised the same toleration in the New Netherlands as was enjoyed in Holland. This, however, did not prevent Stuyvesant and his council from passing another stringent order against conventicles. The Quakers, who had settled on Long Island in considerable numbers, were the principal sufferers, some of these being fined and imprisoned. Finally, in 1662, the company severely rebuked the intolerance of

Stuyvesant, and ordered that no one be disturbed in the free exercise of his religion so long as he was "modest, moderate, and irreproachable in his political conduct." This was a timely order, for in a little while the Dutch needed the mercy which they were enjoined to show to others.

New Amsterdam Taken by the English, 1664.—Charles II, of England, with a remarkable and unscrupulous generosity, gave the New Netherlands to his brother, Duke of York. Whereupon an English fleet, under command of Richard Nicolls, crossed over from England, sailed up into the bay of North River, near Staten Island, and demanded the immediate surrender of New Amsterdam. The little city was without means of defense either in men or munitions of war. Notwithstanding this, the fiery old governor, Peter Stuyvesant, was for throwing down the gage of battle, and only the earnest entreaties of citizens and burgomasters induced him to yield. Thus without bloodshed one of the most prosperous colonies of the new world changed rulers, and England added to her possessions the most valuable province on this side of the ocean.

The conquest checked the immigration from Holland, and put new difficulties in the way of the progress of the church. The Dutch feared for their religious liberty, and not without reason. They had taken care to guard the rights of the church by having inserted in the terms of surrender an article which read: "The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline." Despite this fact the English governors tried to establish the Episcopal Church, and cripple the other churches, though Episcopalians constituted not more than one tenth of the population.

It was not till the reign of the Dutch Presbyterian, William III, that the Reformed Church, by securing a charter, rendered its liberties secure.

Some Hindrances to the Prosperity of the Church.—When New Amsterdam became New York, by passing under English rule, there were thirteen Reformed churches and seven ministers. Twelve years after this date there were only three ministers. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were but twenty-nine churches in the whole province of New York, and the ministers were so scarce that few congregations had the privilege of hearing preaching more than two or three times a year. Several causes obstructed the progress of the church—such as the character of the earliest colonists, who sacrificed the ample religious blessings of the home land for the sake of commercial gain; the unsettled condition of the colony politically; the constant struggle of a feeble but aggressive minority to secure an advantage for the Episcopal Church; above all the dependence of the Colonial Church on the Classis of Amsterdam. Had the Dutch Reformed imitated the Puritans of New England, and the Scotch-Irish of the middle colonies, and cut loose at once from the mother church, trusting to its own resources, developing its own institutions and providing its own ministry, no doubt its growth would have been far more rapid. But for a century and a half it maintained an organic connection with the Classis of Amsterdam, and permitted its interests to wait on the fostering care of that court three thousand miles distant. Later, another retarding cause was found in the persistent use of the Dutch language. As late as 1820, the county churches clung to the use of this language in the public services of the sanctuary. This stamped the

church as an exotic, and restricted its growth to Dutch emigrants and their descendants.

The Formation of a Coetus, 1747.—It was not till the year 1737 that the church began to think seriously of taking steps to provide a fountain of authority on this side of the ocean to look after the interests of the needy congregations. Through all the preceding century when they had a candidate for the ministry, they sent him in a slow sailing vessel three thousand miles for ordination. Provided he was not lost at sea, it cost him six months' time and the expense of the voyage to receive authority to preach. The "Great Awakening," beginning about 1730, and promoted in no small measure by the devoted labors of the Rev. Theodore J. Frelinghuysen, made the necessity for more preachers painfully felt. In 1737 a number of ministers met together and formulated a plan for a Coetus. This plan was submitted to the churches, and being approved by them was sent to Holland for the approval of the Classis of Amsterdam. After nine years of waiting, a favorable response was received. But the Coetus was so hedged about with restrictions on its authority as to render it almost useless. Through subordinate circles it could exercise a general supervision over the congregations, but could neither license candidates, nor ordain licentiates, without special permission in each case from the distant classis. The church worked badly under this nondescript affair, which had no logical place in the polity of the church, being neither a consistory, a classis, nor a synod. Young men continued to take the long and perilous voyage to Holland to have the hands of the presbytery laid on them.

Transformation of the Coetus into a Classis.—The conviction deepened that a more effective organiza-

tion was essential to the well-being of the church. There should be a *bona fide* court with power to license and ordain, and to manage all local interests without referring to Holland for advice, or permission. Moreover the bond with the mother church was weakening. With few exceptions, ministers and people were American born, and the spirit of western independence was stirring in their veins. In 1754 an assembly of eleven ministers and eleven elders adopted a plan for so modifying the Coetus as to change it into a constitutional classis. The plan was submitted to the congregations, and also sent to the Synod of North Holland asking the assistance of that body to carry it into effect.

Just at this juncture, there was a most unfortunate split in the church, which lasted for seventeen years. A few ministers wished to lend themselves to an effort which the Episcopalians were making to found a denominational college in the city of New York. They withdrew from the Coetus, and sent a letter to Holland, entreating the Classis of Amsterdam not to approve the plan on foot to form an independent authority in America. But the Coetus met on the 30th of May, 1754, and without waiting longer for the approval of the mother across the Atlantic assumed all the powers of a self-governing body.

Consolidation and Complete Autonomy.—By a happy compensation of providence there came at this time into the councils of the distracted church, one raised up of God to be a peacemaker, and a source of abundant blessing to the church in many directions. This was John H. Livingston, a descendant of John Livingston, who in the seventeenth century, having been driven from Scotland by persecution, had received a loving welcome by the Reformed Church of Holland. The reward for re-

ceiving a prophet in the name of a prophet was bestowed on the American church in the person of this descendant. Graduating from Yale College in 1762, he dedicated himself to the gospel ministry, and cast in his lot with the adopted church of his ancestors. To qualify himself to preach in the Dutch language, he went to Holland for his theological education. By the influence gained in the mother church he was the better fitted for the task of bringing together the warring factions in the daughter church. Immediately on his return home he gave himself with great earnestness to this delicate task. Such was his success that within less than two years, the breach was healed, a new form of organization was adopted, and the approval of the Classis of Amsterdam was secured. The new organization consisted of one general body, and five particular bodies, and these with such powers as to make the church practically independent, though it still bore a nominal subordination to the church in Holland. It was not until 1794 that a General Synod with complete autonomy was organized, and under it a Particular Synod.

Present Organization of the Church.—In the year 1800, the particular Synod was divided into the two Particular Synods of New York and Albany. The Particular Synod of Chicago was organized in 1856; and the Particular Synod of New Brunswick in 1869. Subordinate to these four particular synods are thirty-five classes; and under these are the congregational courts called consistories. These consistories differ from the sessions of most Presbyterian churches in that they are composed of both elders and deacons. Another peculiarity is that these elders and deacons are chosen by the congregation for only two years, and half go out

each year. These ex-elders and ex-deacons constitute the "Great Consistory" which is summoned on occasion to give advice on important matters. The classis is identical with a presbytery; both the Particular Synod and the General Synod are delegated bodies, composed of representatives from the classes, and each meets annually.

Educational Institutions.—The Reformed Church has had a creditable history in the matter of education. When too feeble to support institutions of its own, it sought the benefit of schools founded by those more fortunate, and in the face of all difficulties, maintained a high standard of education for its ministry. Its oldest college was chartered in 1770 under the title of Queen's College, and was located at New Brunswick, N. J. The name was changed in 1825 to Rutgers College, in honor of a generous benefactor, Colonel Henry Rutgers. Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., obtained its charter in 1795, and proved a great blessing to the church in preparing young men for the ministry. Hope College, Holland, Michigan, grew out of Holland Academy, and was chartered in 1866.

The Reformed Church claims the oldest Theological Seminary in America. It began theological education by electing the Rev. John H. Livingston professor of theology in 1784. He taught for many years in New York City. In 1810, he was called by the synod to open a theological seminary in New Brunswick, N. J., and the same year he was elected president of Queen's (now Rutgers) College. He accepted both positions, and labored in them with great efficiency until his death. Such was the beginning of the theological seminary at New Brunswick. It now has eight fine buildings, five

endowed professorships, a good library, and all other essentials to make it one of the best-equipped institutions of sacred learning in the land. At Holland, Mich., the church has another school for educating its ministry, the Western Theological Seminary, which is growing into strength and enlarged usefulness in connection with Hope College.

Doctrine and Liturgy.—This church is remarkable for the stress it lays on doctrine, measuring orthodoxy by no less than three great confessional symbols, viz., the Belgic Confession, the Canons of Dort, and the Heidelberg Catechism. This last is made particularly prominent, as the church requires it to be taught in families and schools, and makes a short compend of it the doctrinal standard for all who join the church. Ministers are required to subscribe both the Confession and Catechism, and pledge themselves not to teach any views contrary to them without first consulting the classis to which they belong. The church of this country was but following in the wake of the Church of Holland in receiving and enthroning all these elaborate doctrinal standards, but it has adhered to them with a courage and consistency which should put the mother church to shame.

The Reformed Church in America inherited from Holland a somewhat extensive liturgy, consisting of sacramental forms, forms of ordination of ministers, elders and deacons, of discipline, marriage, consolation of the sick, etc. Some new forms have been added, making the liturgy very full and complete. While these forms are used with a good degree of uniformity, they are all optional except those for the sacraments, for ordination, and for discipline.

The Christian Reformed Church.—This church is so

nearly related to the one whose history we have been considering as not to demand separate treatment. It is composed of three constituent parts. The oldest of these was a small fragment that split off from the Dutch Reformed Church in 1822, giving as their reason that the church had become corrupted with Hopkinsian error, and had relaxed its discipline. The next oldest of the three elements was a part of the Christian Reformed Church of Holland which emigrated to this country about the middle of the nineteenth century and settled in the western states. The remaining element was a secession from the Dutch Reformed Church in 1882 because the General Synod refused to condemn freemasonry, and to reject from Christian fellowship those who belonged to secret, oath-bound societies. These secessionists were recent immigrants from Holland, living in the West. The three elements came into organic unity in 1889. They have nine classes, and something over seventeen thousand communicants. They hold the same doctrinal standards, and use the same forms of worship as the Dutch Reformed Church.

CHAPTER XIII

UNITED STATES (*Continued*)

THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH

THE official name of this church omits the word "German" for the reason that the church has long since become Americanized. But the word is convenient to discriminate this church from the many other Reformed churches, and also to indicate its historic origin. It roots itself in the Reformed churches of Germany and Switzerland, and continues to derive its growth and strength almost exclusively from Germanic sources. Some of the material that entered into the formation of the church was early on the ground. By invitation of William Penn, Francis Daniel Pastorius brought over a colony of Germans and settled Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1683. This was the beginning of a stream of immigration that has never ceased to flow, but the volume of which was very small till the second decade of the eighteenth century.

The Great Influx Under Queen Anne.—The barbarous wars of Louis XIV, beginning in 1674 and waged from time to time until 1704, desolated the country along the Rhine, especially the Palatinate, to such a degree as to leave many of the wretched inhabitants no choice save starvation, or emigration. In the spring of 1709, more than thirty thousand poor exiles, casting themselves on the known sympathy of Queen Anne and her government, made their way to England. Many of these were

shipped to America, and formed small settlements at different points from New York to South Carolina; but the larger part ultimately found permanent homes in Pennsylvania. From this time forth the German population in the colonies grew rapidly, and a large part of it belonged to the Reformed Church.

Early Religious Conditions.—No preachers came with the early immigrants. For several years the only public ministrations of religion were by the parochial schoolmasters. These taught the children to sing, catechized them, read prayers at funerals, and sometimes read sermons in the public assembly on Sundays. Peter Boehm was the first preacher to minister to them, and being himself a schoolmaster he discharged the duties of preacher and pastor for quite awhile before receiving ordination to the ministry. He came to Pennsylvania in 1720, and his work was principally in Montgomery County. He was joined in 1727 by the Rev. George Michael Weiss, and they labored with earnestness and success in gathering the scattered people into congregations, and in starting the currents of regular church life.

Period of the Coetus.—In the year 1746, the synods of Holland sent out Michael Schlatter with the special object of gathering the scattered flocks into one fold, and building up a unified denominational structure. He was richly endowed with gifts that fitted him for leadership. He was patient and tactful, skillful in organization and administration. He entered with determined zeal, and persistent purpose on his arduous mission. In the face of many difficulties, he succeeded in harmonizing conflicting views, and in arousing considerable enthusiasm for a common cause. On the 29th of September, 1747, a meeting was held in Philadelphia, attended by thirty-

one church officials, and a Coetus was organized. At this time there were forty-six churches and only five ordained ministers. As an administrative council, the Coetus was of little worth, having scarcely any ecclesiastical authority, but it formed a bond of union, and marked a decided step toward an independent American church.

Subordination of the Coetus to the Classis of Amsterdam.—In the long period of distress, to which reference has been made when repeated wars laid waste the country of the Rhine, thousands of the suffering people took refuge in Holland, where they were kindly welcomed. Many of these afterwards came to America, and became members of the German Reformed Church. Naturally they cherished a grateful attachment for Holland, and Holland felt a reciprocal interest in them. These early immigrants were very poor; their native church of the Palatinate was wounded nigh unto death and despoiled of its goods; and hence in looking across the ocean for help there was no country to which they could so hopefully apply as to Holland. In 1751, in response to an appeal, made through Schlatter, who went to Europe for that purpose, the synods of Holland contributed £12,000, the interest of which was to be paid annually for the support of the American churches and pastors. It was, however, stipulated that "as a condition of this aid, the Coetus was in all things to be subordinate to the Classis of Amsterdam. Its minutes, translated into Dutch, were to be annually sent to Holland, and none of its acts were final until they were approved." Even with such conditions attached, the aid was gratefully received; but through many years the church was much hampered, and retarded in its growth by these restrictions on its liberty of action. It could ordain no minister; nor could it ad-

mit to its service ministers from other bodies without express permission from Holland.

Relation with Other Churches.—Owning allegiance to the same foreign authority, drawing much of its life-blood from the same source, and holding in part the same standard of doctrine as the Dutch Reformed Church, it was but natural that these two churches should live in closest fraternity. They showed their affinity by many mutual offices of kindness, and on various occasions efforts were made to bring about organic unity. More than once these efforts gave bright promise of success, but one insuperable difficulty stood in the way—the unwillingness of the German Reformed Church to increase the number of its doctrinal standards. Both churches were equally attached to the Heidelberg Catechism, but this was the only test of orthodoxy that the German Reformed Church wished. It would not consent to swear by the more elaborate and more rigidly dogmatic statements of doctrine contained in the Belgic Confession, and the Decrees of the Synod of Dort. In its early history, there was perhaps a yet closer affinity between the German Reformed and the Lutheran churches. These were brought near together by identity of race and language, and by historical associations as to origin. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg of the Lutheran Church and Michael Schlatter were closely associated for many years, encouraged and assisted each other, and by their united influence promoted the closest fellowship between their churches. It was said in reference to this period: “If a Pennsylvania farmer had been asked to point out the difference between the Reformed and the Lutheran churches, he would probably have said: ‘In the Lord’s Prayer the Reformed say *Unser Vater*, and the Lutherans say *Vater*

Unser; and further on in the same prayer the Lutherans say, *Erlöse uns von dem Uebel*, and the Reformed, *Erlöse uns von dem Bösen.*' " These two churches went so far in coöperative labors as to establish their first college in common. This was Franklin College at Lancaster, Pa., founded in 1787. In Germany, a union between the Reformed and Lutheran churches was effected in 1817; and this stimulated efforts to bring about a union between the two churches in this country. The very next year, they agreed on a proposition to establish a joint theological seminary in connection with Franklin College. But these efforts to merge the two churches into one revealed certain conditions which made union, for the time, seem unadvisable, and gradually they drifted further apart.

Pietistic Movement Giving Birth to the "United Brethren."—Two tendencies were early manifest in the Coetus—one toward a stereotyped conservatism; and the other toward a somewhat lawless evangelism. Some members of the Coetus thought the supreme business of the church was to preserve purity of doctrine, and keep alive the traditions of the fathers. Others felt the burden of souls, and cared comparatively little for matters of doctrine and order. These latter were known as pietists. Their most distinguished leader was Phillip William Otterbein, who had been brought over from Germany by Schlatter in 1752. When Francis Asbury was sent to this country by John Wesley in 1771 to preside over the young and tender shoot of Methodism, he very soon came into contact with Otterbein, and found in him a kindred spirit. It was from Asbury that Otterbein received the suggestion to organize in the Reformed churches societies for the promotion of personal piety. The measure seemed to be demanded by the distressingly

low state of spiritual life, all idea of regeneration being regarded as mere "pictistic whimery." As preachers were scarce, and an increase through ordinary methods was unattainable, Otterbein and his coworkers thought the best thing to do in the circumstances was to form "classes" and place "leaders" over them after the Methodist fashion. In all the Reformed churches in Maryland, except the First Church of Baltimore, and in some churches in southern Pennsylvania, these classes were organized, and semiannual conferences were held to hear reports from their leaders. It was no more the purpose of Otterbein to form a new denomination among the Germans than it was the purpose of Wesley to form a new denomination among the English. But in each case the movement went beyond the intention of its promoters. An intimate and honored associate of Otterbein's in the special work of deepening the spiritual life of the churches, and in giving direction to this quickened spiritual life was Martin Boehm. He was a Mennonite, uneducated, but able, resourceful and aflame with evangelical zeal. At the conclusion of one of his moving discourses, Otterbein grasped his hand and with cordial fervor said, "We are brethren." From this incident came the name "United Brethren." Many of these societies, some from the German Reformed, and some from the Mennonites, gradually drew away from the churches with which they were connected, and drawing together formed a distinct denomination.

Change of the Coetus Into a Synod.—During the war for independence, the Germans were, with few exceptions, enthusiastically devoted to the interests of the colonies. They suffered much in loss of property, and in religious and ecclesiastical demoralization. A prime trouble with

the German Reformed Church had ever been a lack of preachers. It was dependent upon Holland, and Holland was too far away to know fully or feel deeply the needs of the struggling congregations, which it persisted in holding in leading strings. The synods of Holland were faithful in paying the regular annuities, and as the *beneficium* and the control were tied together it required no little courage and self-denial for the Coetus to assert its right to independence. But the necessity for more preachers became increasingly urgent, and so painfully was this necessity felt that as early as 1772, the Coetus ventured to stretch its authority and administer the rite of ordination. Its conduct was looked upon with disfavor, however, by the jealous patron across the ocean. But finally the restraint became intolerable, and in the year 1791, the Coetus passed the following resolution: "Resolved, That the Coetus has the right at all times to examine and ordain those who offer themselves as candidates for the ministry, without asking, or waiting for permission to do so from the fathers in Holland." Having at length attained its majority, and cast off parental authority, it must of course, henceforth look to itself for support. This was perhaps as great a gain as its independence of action, for no church, leading the life of a parasite, can develop either aggressive strength or high spiritual qualities. The next year after asserting its right of autonomy, a synodical constitution was formed and the synod held its first meeting, April 27, 1793, at Lancaster, Pa., with thirteen ministers present. It is estimated that at this time the church numbered one hundred and seventy-eight congregations, and fifteen thousand communicants. It is further stated that at least fifty-five per cent of the congregations were vacant.

These were scattered over a wide extent of country ; but the chief strength of the church was in Pennsylvania.

Organization of the Church Completed.—After taking matters in its own hands, the church was not slow to increase its ministerial force by raising up a native ministry. At first candidates were instructed privately, and later schools of theology were established. The gain in preachers was soon noticeable ; many charges long vacant were supplied with the means of grace ; and stronger currents of life were sent pulsing through all the church. Its progress as compared with former periods was gratifying. In 1819, the synod divided itself up into eight classes, or presbyteries, retaining, however, the power of ordaining ministers in its own hands. When the country west of the Alleghanies was opened for settlers, the Germans crossed the mountains in considerable numbers. They organized churches, and formed a classis in Ohio. This classis judged that it could do the work laid to its hand more effectively if it were granted the right to ordain candidates for the ministry. It sent an overture to the synod asking this privilege. The synod refused the request, and this refusal led to the organization of the Independent Synod of Ohio. For several years there was no organic connection between these two synods, and it looked as if the German Reformed Church might be permanently divided into two distinct bodies. But in 1844, delegates from the two synods began to meet in triennial conventions, merely for conference. Happily this convention gave place in 1863 to the General Synod, a court representing the unity of the whole church, and exercising supreme authority. This gave the finishing touch to the church's machinery of government, the four courts being, in ascending gradation, Consistory, Classis,

District Synod, General Synod. Since the middle of last century large migrations from Germany have poured into the middle West and the Northwest. The Reformed Church has pushed its home mission work with commendable energy, and as a result several new synods and classes have been added to its rolls. The General Synod now comprises eight District Synods, of which five are predominantly English, and three are German. These eight synods are divided into fifty-seven classes, containing about two hundred and fifty thousand communicants.

Educational Institutions.—On the 6th of June, 1787, Franklin College was opened at Lancaster, Pa. As already noted, it was a joint enterprise of Reformed and Lutheran. In the impoverished condition of their people at that time neither church felt equal to the task of planting and building up a college. Their needs and aims being the same they found no difficulty in coöperating. The first president was a Lutheran, and the first vice-president a German Reformed pastor. Eminent citizens of Pennsylvania, not connected with either church, were glad to lend their aid. The largest individual contributor was Benjamin Franklin, and this furnished a good reason for ornamenting the young college with his illustrious name. This was a beautiful and promising beginning; but the fulfillment did not answer to the promise. Responsibility was too much divided—the outside community having been taken in as a third partner. Not till the Reformed Church gained full control, by buying out the Lutherans, and securing a concession of outside interests, did the college enter upon a career of prosperity.

The Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church was opened March 11, 1825, at Carlisle, Pa. It

proved to be quite a peripatetic institution. In 1829 it was moved to York, Pa.; in 1837 to Mercersburg, Pa., and finally in 1871 to Lancaster, Pa. While at Carlisle, it was closely associated with Dickinson, a Presbyterian College. While it was located at York there grew up in connection with it a classical high school under the fostering care of Dr. Rauch, a man of fine scholarship and of exceptional ability. It was the removal of his school, transformed into Marshall College, to Mercersburg in 1835, that carried the Theological Seminary there two years later. In like manner it was the removal of Marshall College to Lancaster, where it was consolidated with Franklin College, that caused the removal of the seminary to that point.

The church has other important institutions for educating its young people of both sexes, and for training its ministers. The most important are Heidelberg University, and the Western Theological Seminary, at Tiffin, O.; Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.; Catawba College, Newton, N. C.; and colleges for women at Allentown, Pa., and Frederick, Md.

The Mercersburg Controversy.—While the Theological Seminary was located at Mercersburg, it was served by two men of rare genius and rich scholarship—J. W. Nevin and Philip Schaff. Dr. Nevin was reared in the Presbyterian Church, and was occupying a chair in the Allegheny Seminary at the time he was called to the professorship of theology in Mercersburg. This was in 1840. Only four years later Dr. Schaff came from Germany to be his colleague and sympathetic coworker. They were both deeply imbued and thoroughly fascinated with recent developments of German theology and philosophy, as these developments found expression

in such leaders of thought as Schliermacher and Hegel. They set themselves the task of giving to America, and especially to the German Reformed Church, the fruits of their German scholarship. Their purpose was to infuse fresh vitality into theology; exalt the sacraments as channels of grace; and enrich the worship by providing a more satisfactory liturgy. Some of their cherished ideas were novel and provoked strong opposition. Dr. Schaff's inaugural address subjected him to a trial for heresy. While he was triumphantly acquitted, the apprehensions of the more conservative brethren were by no means laid. Dr. Nevin, when serving on a committee to revise the liturgy of the church, took strong ground for what he called an "altar liturgy." Hostility to his views, which seemed to smack of Romanism, became very bitter, and a serious schism seemed imminent. It was averted however through the labors of a "Peace Commission." This able body succeeded in harmonizing all views in the "Directory of Worship" which it prepared and presented to the church in 1881. This contains elaborate forms of worship which are generally used by those who conduct the devotions of the people, for the German Reformed Church has always been distinctly liturgical; but these forms are optional, as it is contrary to the very genius of this church to lay strong restraint on individual liberty.

Doctrine of the Church.—Its only official standard of doctrine is the Heidelberg Catechism. This it inherited from the church in the fatherland, and deems itself amply rich in the possession of this one doctrinal formulary. The Heidelberg Catechism is not so remarkable for its logical precision as for its devotional fervor. It is designed rather to guide and develop Christian experience

than to inform the intellect. The sharp-edged dogmatism, which is a virtue in a purely doctrinal symbol, is absent from this Catechism. The result is that those who use it as the sole test of orthodoxy do not regard themselves as bound to a rigid system of Calvinism, and exhibit a wider latitude of doctrinal views than is common in the great family of Reformed Churches.

CHAPTER XIV

UNITED STATES (*Continued*)

CHURCHES OF SCOTTISH DISSENTING ORIGIN

THERE are several churches which fall under this head. They have substantially the same origin, cherish the same principles, and are animated by the same spirit. Their histories have become much blended, and to an outsider there seems no sufficient reason why they should not long since have been merged into one church. But the Scotch have ever shown a remarkable disposition to cling to "every jot and tittle of the law till all be fulfilled." Heaven and earth may pass away, but their party shibboleths must not pass away. In order to clearness it is necessary to begin with the origin of these churches in Scotland. It is in their origin that we find those principles which have continued to impart to them their distinctive characters.

The Reformed Presbyterian Church.—We trace the stream of this church's history to its fountain head in Richard Cameron, and Donald Cargill. These were the heroic leaders of those uncompromising covenanters, who met in 1680 at Sanquhar, and posted a public proclamation, renouncing their allegiance to Charles II. They assigned as the reason for their bold act that the king, by violating his solemn engagements to his subjects, by his treachery and tyranny, had forfeited all right to the crown. Both noble leaders lost their lives in defending their principles; but their followers,

popularly known as Cameronians, held together and perpetuated their doctrines and spirit. Without preachers to minister to them, they organized praying societies, and by a system of general correspondence, preserved their unity and kept alive the faith.

By and by, England and Scotland grew into the same conviction with the Cameronians, viz., that a king by treachery and tyranny forfeits the allegiance of his subjects. Acting on this conviction, they expelled the Stuarts from the throne, and gave the crown to William and Mary. This brought relief from persecution to the covenanters; but did not end their contentions. By the Revolution Settlement of 1690, Presbyterianism was once again established by law as the National Church. The disciples of Cameron refused, however, to accept the settlement, because of certain Erastian elements. To the king and parliament were given such power in the management of ecclesiastical affairs as was inconsistent with the doctrine of Christ's sole headship. Declining to become a part of the National Church, the covenanters maintained a separate existence through their praying societies. After the lapse of sixteen years, one preacher was found to endorse their views. This was the Rev. John McMillan, who joined them in 1706. It was not till 1743 that another was added. In that year the Rev. Mr. Nair cast in his lot with the feeble but faithful flock; and he and McMillan, together with a few ruling elders, organized a presbytery, and thus gave birth to the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

The Associate Presbytery.—The history of this church had its beginning in the secession from the National Church of Scotland in 1733. This secession was led by Ebenezer Erskine, and was due, in large measure, to the

evil workings of those Erastian principles, against which the inflexible Cameronians had so vigorously protested. The Revolution Settlement restricted the rights of the people in the calling of their pastors, giving to certain land-owners undue power in this matter, a power which they could use, and frequently did use, to the great offense and hurt of the people. Erskine pleaded boldly for reform, and by so doing brought upon him the judicial censures of a church that had lost much of the devout and liberty-loving spirit of the fathers. He was joined by three ministers, who sympathized with him in his struggle, and all these being suspended from the ministry and extruded from their charges, met together on the 6th day of December 1733 and constituted themselves into the Associate Presbytery. Thus was formed another distinct Presbyterian Church in Scotland.

From these two churches, the Reformed and the Associate, have descended a number of churches in America. The children continue to be more numerous than the parents, notwithstanding several unions have taken place.

Planting of the Reformed Church in America.—In the stream of immigration that set in from Ireland in the early part of the eighteenth century, many Covenanters, who had previously fled from Scotland and taken refuge in Ireland, found their way to America. They organized their praying societies and their system of general correspondence, and thus continued their separate church life in the new world. The first preacher to minister to them was Alexander Craighead, a member of the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia. He gathered a few congregations together, and in the year 1743 joined with them in renewing the covenants. His presbytery

called him to account for it, and renouncing the presbytery's authority, he attached himself to the Reformed Church. One of the first services he rendered the church was to write to the newly-formed presbytery in Scotland to send a minister to his assistance. In response to this appeal, they sent over the Rev. John Cuthbertson ; but before his arrival, Craighead withdrew, and renewed his connection with his former church. Cuthbertson had to blaze the way for the infant denomination with no one to assist him. Most bravely and earnestly did he give himself to the trying task, "riding horseback during his first year 2,500 miles, preaching 120 days, baptizing 110 children, and marrying ten couples." He held his first communion on the 23d day of August, 1752, at Stony Ridge, when 250 communicants sat down together at the Lord's Table. This was exactly one year after he landed on these shores. He continued to labor alone for many years with the same strenuous persistency, and with marked effectiveness.

In the year 1773, he was joined by two fellow-laborers from Scotland, the Revs. Matthew Lind, and Alexander Dobbin. In March of the next year they organized the Reformed Presbytery of America.

Planting of the Associate Church in America.—The same current of immigration that brought so many Scotch and Scotch-Irish to America in the beginning of the eighteenth century, to furnish the foundation material of other churches, brought quite a number whose affiliations were with the Associate Church of Scotland. At that day when any doctrinal difference was deemed sufficient by a Scotchman to justify a division of the church, or the perpetuation of a division, it hardly

occurred to these followers of Erskine to seek a home in some church already on the ground. They held aloof, and in 1753 sent a petition to their mother church in Scotland for ministers. The petition was successful, and two ministers, Alexander Gallatly and Andrew Arnot were sent over by the Anti-Burgher Synod, one of the two synods into which the church of Erskine had by this time split. On the 2d day of November, 1753, the three ministers organized the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania. Other preachers followed in considerable numbers during the next few years; and the church grew to such dimensions that by the year 1776 it was deemed advisable to organize the Presbytery of New York. This presbytery included all the ministers in New York and New England.

Union of the Reformed and Associate Churches.—The members of these two churches were of the same blood, of the same national origin, their dissent from the National church of Scotland had been for substantially the same reasons,—dissatisfaction with the power of the state over the church, and the increasing laxity of doctrine in the National Church. On comparing notes, they could discover no sufficient ground, Scotchmen though they were, for remaining apart; and they did discover some good reasons why they should become one. They occupied, in good part, the same territory, preached to the same people, and held the same standards of doctrine. Steps were taken in 1777 to bring about closer relations, and these resulted in 1782 in a happy union. “Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.” The names of both the uniting churches were used to designate the resultant church, and henceforth the Associate Reformed Church will

keep alive the honorable traditions of its noble ancestry.

Resuscitation of the Reformed Church.—Every minister of the Reformed Church went into the union with the Associate Church; but a few of the congregations refused to go with the ministers. They had learned from their fathers in Scotland and also in this country how to live without preachers. It was nothing to them that they were a little flock, remembering that it was to the "little flock" that Christ had promised the kingdom. Hence, when they were deserted by all their ministers, and by all their strong and well-organized congregations, the few weak and isolated societies held on their way, walking in the old paths. They reported the state of affairs to the mother church in Scotland, and asked for a new supply of preachers. The mother church sent a minister over to examine the field carefully, and report. What it was he saw, and what it was he reported that made it seem righteous and expedient to encourage these feeble societies in their aloofness, and to nurse them back into denominational church life, it would be difficult at this late day to conjecture. But so it was. As the result of its reconnoissance, the church in Scotland sent over one minister in 1791, and another the next year. These were about all it could spare without committing suicide. But by 1798, there were enough ministers on this side the ocean to organize a new Reformed Presbytery of America. It has continued to live, and has never grown less from that day to this.

Division of the Church in 1833.—It has been the traditional policy of this church to demonstrate its loyalty to truth by division, rather than by union. It found occasion in 1833 to put this policy into practice. The

most distinctive characteristic of the Reformed Church is its attitude toward civil government. It holds that Christ is not only Head of the Church but also of the state, and refuses close incorporation with any civil power that does not make express recognition of Christ's supremacy. Because the Constitution of the United States does not acknowledge God, nor tender national homage to Christ, the Reformed Church will not suffer its members either to vote, or to hold office. Owing to some softening, or broadening of views, a party grew up in the church that was unwilling longer to occupy this extreme position. The view of this party is that while the Constitution of the United States is very defective, and this fact is much to be deplored, yet inasmuch as it is neither infidel nor immoral, members of the church should be permitted to take part in the affairs of Government to the extent of voting and holding office. After a few years of discussion, the antagonisms of parties became sufficiently marked to make division appropriate. It is an unsettled question as to which party seceded. The legal name of the strict constructionists, or Old Side is "The Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in the United States of North America." The legal name of the New Side is "The General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America." The former has about ten thousand members, and the latter about five thousand.

Resuscitation of the Associate Church.—Not to be outdone by their brethren of the Reformed Church, a few members of the Associate Church refused to go into the union of 1782. At the meeting of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, in June, 1782, when the basis of union with the Reformed Church was adopted by the presbytery, two ministers and three ruling elders

protested against it, went out and organized themselves into a new presbytery and took the old name, claiming to be the legal successor of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania for the reason that they had remained true to the ancient faith and loyal to the ancient landmarks. The mother church in Scotland approved their course, and sent over preachers to strengthen the fluttering pulse, and to give the Associate Church in America a new and continuous lease on life. The church spread South and West, presbyteries being formed in Kentucky and the Carolinas. By the year 1801, the growth had been such as to make it advisable to change the form of organization. The original presbytery was changed into the Associate Synod of North America, and the whole church, acknowledging this synod as the supreme court, was divided into four presbyteries.

Some Peculiarities of the Associate Church.—The ministers of this Church were warmly attached to the old Covenants of Scotland; and they taught that the obligation of these Covenants, in so far as the duties which they enjoined could be discharged in this country, was binding on the descendants of those who had sworn them in the old country. Moreover the presbyteries, and the synod, after its formation, engaged from time to time in public solemn covenanting, and encouraged all their congregations to do likewise. This custom was preserved into a period as late as 1830. At an early date the synod took strong ground against slavery. In 1811, it demanded that all members of the Associate Church should free their slaves, and if any one refused, he should be excluded from the fellowship of the church. This demand was not generally complied with, and the subject continued to occupy the attention of the church. In

1840, a letter was addressed to congregations in the South, setting forth their duties in respect to emancipation. The moderator of synod was sent to read this letter to the congregations. The result was a riot in one of the congregations in South Carolina, and the violent expulsion of the preacher from the state. The uncompromising attitude of the church on this subject destroyed its promising beginnings in the South, and confined its growth to the regions north of the Ohio River. The Associate Church was also opposed to secret societies, barring from its membership Freemasons and Odd Fellows, and notwithstanding its ardent championship of temperance reform, it warned its members against the Sons of Temperance because of their secrecy.

The Associate Church lost its identity in 1858 to become a part of the United Presbyterian Church.

The Associate Reformed Church.—It will be remembered that this church came into existence in 1782, by the union of the Associate and the Reformed churches. A fragment of each church refused to enter the union, but the fusion gave birth to a church of considerable strength, scattered over a territory embracing Pennsylvania, New York and New England. Its organization at first consisted of a synod as the supreme court, and three presbyteries. In 1786, the congregations of New England were set off into the Presbytery of Londonderry. This presbytery seems to have become affected with the spirit of independency, characteristic of the Congregational churches by which it was surrounded. Failing for a number of years to send delegates to synod, and making no suitable response to the admonitions of synod touching the matter, the synod felt constrained in 1801

to renounce connection with it, and to disclaim all responsibility for its transactions.

This was the end of the Associate Reformed Church in New England for many years.

Changes in Form of Organization.—The church had a healthy growth, and lengthened its cords until it was represented in all the states from New York to Georgia. Owing to distance and difficulties of travel, a change of organization was deemed advisable. In 1802, the whole church was divided into four synods of two presbyteries each, and these four were confederated into one General Synod. The first meeting of the General Synod, which was a delegated body, was held on the 30th of May, 1804, in Greencastle, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Subsequent meetings were uniformly held in Philadelphia. It was a task of no little difficulty for delegates from the regions farthest south and west to attend its annual sessions. As a result, these regions were poorly represented, and as a further result the power exercised by the General Synod came to be exercised by a few men. In a short while, serious complaint developed. The Synod of Scioto, embracing all the churches west of the Alleghanies, petitioned the General Synod to hold its meetings at least occasionally farther westward; or if not this to divide the church into two or more independent parts. The synod refused both requests. Whereupon in 1820, the Synod of Scioto withdrew from the General Synod, and constituted itself an independent tribunal with the title, "The Associate Reformed Synod of the West." The next year, the Synod of the Carolinas asked and obtained consent of the General Synod to set up an independent authority as the Associate Reformed Synod of the South. This left

only the two Synods of Pennsylvania and New York to constitute the General Synod.

An Attempt at Union with the Presbyterian Church.—At the first meeting of the General Synod after it had been reduced by the withdrawal of the two synods West and South, it received an overture from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, proposing the organic union of the two bodies. The General Synod looked upon the overture favorably, and sent it down to its presbyteries for their action. When it met on the 15th of May, the next year, 1822, the answers from the presbyteries showed that three fifths of them were opposed to union with the Presbyterian Church. In the face of this the synod voted by a majority of two in favor of union, and proceeded at once to carry it into effect. Accordingly the library and funds of the theological seminary in New York were removed to Princeton, New Jersey, and the clerk of synod was ordered to deposit his minute-book and other documents with the session of the Spruce Street Church, Philadelphia, "subject to the further disposal of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church." Obviously this was a very arbitrary and high-handed procedure on the part of the General Synod. Because some of the presbyteries were poorly represented in the meeting, it had an accidental majority in favor of union, and proceeded to override the known will of the larger part of the church. Of course, this larger part could not be dragged into the union, and a few years later it appealed to the civil court and gained possession once more of the library and funds which had been carried to Princeton. The Presbyterian Church complied promptly with the orders of the courts. But there was no way to repair certain other damages which the movement

inflicted on the Associate Reformed Church. It wiped out its strength in all the large eastern cities, and drew a broad line between its different sections, separating it broadly into three distinct divisions, North, West and South. These were absolutely independent of each other, having no connection save a bond of mutual sympathy and brotherly love.

The Associate Reformed Synod of the South.—This is the only one of the four original constituents of the General Synod that has preserved its identity to the present day. It has been courted much by other bodies, and is now receiving very special attention from the United Presbyterian Church, but, so far, it has persistently declined to enter into closer bonds with any. It still retains much of the conservatism, for which all the churches formed of the old covenanting elements of Scotland have ever been noted. This conservatism is particularly manifest in its exclusive use of the Psalms in its service of praise, and in its close adherence to the doctrinal system contained in the Westminster Standards. It has broadened a little with respect to some of its traditional peculiarities. The law against the use of instrumental music in public worship has been rescinded, and organs are found in many, perhaps most of its churches. Former deliverances against secret oath-bound societies, forbidding its members to join fraternities of Masons and Odd Fellows, have fallen into *inocuous desuetude*. Neither close nor restricted communion is any longer enjoined, but “all members of other Evangelical churches in good and regular standing are cordially invited” to join in the service.

A classical high school, known as Clark and Erskine Seminary was opened at Duewest, South Carolina, in

1836. This grew into Erskine College in 1843. During its existence as seminary and college, there has been connected with it a theological department.

The Associate Reformed Synod of the South is divided into nine presbyteries, and these contain an aggregate of about twelve thousand communicants. The members are scattered over all the southern states, including Texas, Arkansas and Missouri, but the chief strength is in the two Carolinas.

The Associate Reformed Synod of the West.—When this synod drew away from the General Synod in 1820, it was made up of three presbyteries with congregations scattered from the Alleghany Mountains to the Mississippi River. Its wide territory was principally home-mission territory, and its great need was preachers. To meet this need it very early established two theological seminaries—one at Pittsburg, Pa., in 1825, and one at Oxford, O., in 1839. By taking strong ground against slavery, it lost its hold in Kentucky; but its growth toward the north and west was such that in 1839, it was under the necessity of dividing into two synods, and a little later a third was formed. These united to form a General Synod. In 1855, these three synods united with the Associate Reformed Synod of New York, thus bringing into one General Synod all the forces of the church, except the Associate Reformed Synod of the South.

The United Presbyterian Church.—This Church is the result of a union between the Associate Synod and the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church. Its history, therefore, has nearly all been written. It falls heir, through the two tributaries of which it is formed, to Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill, on the one hand; and on the other to Ebenezer Erskine and his confrères.

The union took place in the City Hall of Pittsburg, Pa., May 26, 1859. The Associate Synod brought into the United body twenty-three thousand, and the Associate Reformed Synod thirty-one thousand communicants. The basis of union was the Westminster Standards, *plus* a "Judicial Testimony." This latter comprises a series of eighteen articles, singling out for emphasis and explanation certain doctrines of the Confession of Faith, and embracing a few distinctive points not contained in the confession. The last five articles set forth these distinctive points, and are worth quoting in full as exhibiting certain peculiarities which attach to all the churches of Scottish Dissenting Origin.

14. "*We declare*, That slave holding—that is the holding of unoffending human beings in involuntary bondage, and considering and treating them as property, and subject to be bought and sold—is a violation of the law of God, and contrary both to the letter and the spirit of Christianity.

15. "*We declare*, That all associations, whether formed for political or benevolent purposes, which impose on their members an oath of secrecy or an obligation to obey a code of unknown laws, are inconsistent with the genius and spirit of Christianity, and church members ought not to have fellowship with such associations.

16. "*We declare*, That the church should not extend communion, in sealing ordinances, to those who refuse adherence to her profession or subjection to her government and discipline, or who refuse to forsake a communion which is inconsistent with the profession that she makes; nor should communion in any ordinance of worship be held under such circumstances as would be

inconsistent with keeping of these ordinances pure and entire, or so as to give countenance to any corruption of the doctrine and institution of Christ.

17. "*We declare*, That public social covenanting is a duty, the observance of which is not required at stated times, but on extraordinary occasions, as the providence of God and the circumstances of the church may indicate. It is seasonable in times of great danger to the church, in times of exposure to backsliding, or in times of reformation, when the church is returning to God from a state of backsliding. When the church has entered into such covenant transactions, they continue to bind posterity faithfully to adhere to and prosecute the grand object for which such engagements have been entered into.

18. "*We declare*, That it is the will of God that the songs contained in the Book of Psalms be sung in his worship, both public and private, to the end of the world; and in singing God's praise these songs should be employed to the exclusion of the devotional compositions of uninspired men."

Educational Institutions.—Probably no church has been more zealous in the cause of Christian education. With comparatively meager resources it has built up a number of excellent colleges and seminaries in the middle and western states. It claims to have founded the first theological seminary on the continent. This was the seminary established by the Associate Church in 1794 at Service, Beaver County, Pa. No doubt, the Dutch Reformed Church would dispute the claim that this was the first theological seminary on the continent. That church claims that the theological seminary, now at New Brunswick, N. J., "was founded in 1784 by the election of the

Rev. J. H. Livingston, as professor of theology." We shall not attempt to adjudicate between these conflicting claims. The United Presbyterian Church has two flourishing theological seminaries at present, one at Allegheny, Pa., and the other at Xenia, O. It also has a number of colleges, including three located in Tennessee and Virginia for educating negroes.

The church has grown from fifty-four thousand in 1858 to about one hundred and thirty thousand at the present, thus showing vigorous life, and energetic propagandism.

CHAPTER XV

CANADA

Failure of Huguenot Colonies.—The first Presbyterians to set foot on the shores of the western world were from the Reformed Church of France. One company landed in Florida in 1565, was captured by treachery, and murdered in cold blood by the Spaniards, under the leadership of Pedro Menendez. Others settled in Canada along the St. Lawrence and in Nova Scotia. The Huguenots in seeking a home in New France were escaping from religious persecution ; and were also actuated in some measure by the hope of commercial advantage. Under the reign of Henry IV, they were assured of protection, and were given the privilege of carrying on trade with the natives. But after his death, they were made to suffer from the hostility of his successor. Their privileges of trade were taken away, and they were subjected to such restrictions and persecutions as to prevent further development.

Permanent Settlement of English Speaking Colonists.—In 1713, Nova Scotia was ceded to England. At that time it was settled by Roman Catholics, the deportation of whom has formed the theme of song and story. England was moved to this severe method of treatment by the persistent insubordination of these Catholics. They would neither leave the country of their own accord, nor would they take the oath of allegiance. The government bore with them for some years, during

which time, they were constantly intriguing with the natives against the constituted authorities. Finally the government, after the manner of the old Assyrian conquerors, forcibly removed them from their homes and transported them to the far distant south. Protestant settlers were invited to take their place, and quite a number migrated thither from Boston, Rhode Island, and other colonies, also from England, Scotland and Ireland.

By the treaty of Paris in 1763, the whole of Canada was ceded to Great Britain ; and this opened a wide and inviting field to the occupancy of English-speaking people. They were not slow to take advantage of the opening. As many as ten thousand arrived the first year ; and soon the population had increased to such numbers as to make the demand urgent for preachers, and the ordinances of public worship.

Beginning of Presbyterian Organization.—Most of the early Presbyterian settlers were from Scotland. Naturally the churches of that land accepted the obligation to supply their religious wants. The first ministers from Scotland were from the Burgher Synod, one of the two bodies into which the secession church of Erskine divided. Three ministers from the synod, Daniel Cook, David Smith, and Hugh Graham met together in 1786, and with two ruling elders organized the Presbytery of Truro. The Rev. James McGregor, a minister from the Anti-Burgher Synod of Scotland labored for a time as an independent missionary, enduring much hardship, and exhibiting much heroism of character. In 1795, being joined by two other ministers from the Anti-Burgher Synod, they together organized the Presbytery of Pictou. Thus the divisions of the mother church were trans-

planted to the new world ; and the necessary steps were taken to perpetuate them indefinitely. It looked as if the separative propensity of Scotch Presbyterianism were congenital and incurable. But after years were to show that such was not really the case. Unity of doctrine, of polity, and of worship has furnished an attractive power sufficient to overcome long-cherished devotion to party shibboleths.

Formation of Synod of Nova Scotia, 1817.—Soon after the organization of the Anti-Burgher Presbytery of Pictou the Burgher Presbytery of Truro made overtures for fraternal relations and coöperation. These overtures were not at once successful ; but in 1817, the unreasonable antagonisms gave place to brotherly confidence, and the two presbyteries came together. A few ministers from the Established Church of Scotland also entered into the union. Thus was formed the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia. It organized a synod, and this divided into the three presbyteries of Truro, Pictou and Halifax. The strength of the church at this time was represented by nineteen ministers with a Presbyterian population of forty-two thousand. The territory of the synod included Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.

The history of the Church of Canada falls naturally into two distinct parts owing to the geographical division of the country into the Eastern and Western Provinces. It will perhaps be in the interest of clearness to recite the history of each separately. The history of the Eastern Province will, therefore, be continued down to the year 1875.

Efforts to Provide for a Home-grown Ministry.—The most urgent need of the church was a greater

number of ministers. Nineteen were a very inadequate supply to look after the population already on the ground. But immigrants continued to pour in, and the need became more and more urgent. Scotland and Ireland could not be depended on for an adequate supply. So the synod immediately set about providing for the training of a ministry at home. King's College, Windsor, would have answered their purpose, had the English government been more just and liberal. But according to one of the statutes of this college, no degree was to be conferred until the candidate had subscribed the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England. Another statute forbids "any member of the university from frequenting the Romish Mass, or the meeting houses of Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, or the conventicles, or other places of worship of any other dissenters from the Church of England, or where divine service shall not be performed according to the liturgy of the Church of England." Such narrow intolerance necessitated an effort on the part of the Presbyterians to provide their own school. The effort resulted in the establishment of Pictou Academy. This academy was inaugurated under the presidency of the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, and for many years did a most useful work, training many godly ministers for the church. It was closed in 1834, when Dr. McCulloch was transferred to Dalhousie College.

An Effort to Secure Religious Liberty.—The Synod of Nova Scotia invited the coöperation of other dissenting bodies in an effort to secure equal rights with the clergy of the Church of England. "They petitioned for (a) the right of marrying by license without proclamation of banns; (b) the right of congregations to hold

real estate, so far at least as regards places of worship and glebes; (c) the right to enjoy a proportional share of whatever money should be granted by the British Parliament for the support of the gospel in the Province; (d) and that admissibility to be trustees in Pictou Academy be extended to dissenters of all denominations." Slight and reasonable as these requests were, they were denied. The British Parliament continued to grant thousands of dollars to bishops and clergymen of the Church of England; and in many ways to favor Episcopalians at the expense of dissenters. Nothing strikes the "free-born" with greater surprise than the patience with which the subjects of England, who chose to manage their church affairs without a bishop, and to worship without the prayer book, bore the oftentimes insolent oppression of the English Establishment.

The Glasgow Colonial Society.—This society was formed in 1825, and had for its object the promotion of the religious and moral interests of the Scottish settlers in British North America. During the first ten years of its existence it sent forty ministers of the Church of Scotland into Canada. Many of these chose the Eastern Provinces for their field of labor. Refusing to join the church which had already been planted on this soil, these ministers organized in 1833 a synod in connection with the Church of Scotland. Thus again the divisive spirit of the home land was transplanted to the colony. Two churches, holding the same identical standards, were working in the same field as rivals. The Synod of Nova Scotia made overtures for union, but in vain. These overtures were renewed from time to time up to the year 1841, at which time the synod in connection with the Church of Scotland declared its willingness to absorb

the other synod, or any part thereof. The Synod of Canada, being both the older and the larger body was not asking to be absorbed, and proposed to break off negotiations, if there could be found no other basis of union.

Effect of the Disruption on the Churches in Canada.—The Synod of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland very naturally took a profound interest in the discussions and troubles which led to the disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843. When that event came, its sympathies were with the members who went out and formed the Free Church. The prevailing view was that the mother church had sacrificed important principles in submitting to the oppressive acts of the civil government. Hence the synod, with the exception of four members, renounced connection with the National Church of Scotland and changed its name to the Synod of Nova Scotia, adhering to the Westminster standards.

In 1833, a presbytery had been organized in the Province of New Brunswick, composed of ministers from the Church of Scotland. In the course of ten years, this presbytery grew into a synod. When the disruption occurred, it adhered to the mother church.

There was at this time a little handful of Presbyterians in the Eastern Provinces, representing the Reformed Church of Scotland. These had their separate organization.

Thus at the close of the year 1844, when the smoke of the battles over disruption had lifted, it was discovered that in the Eastern Provinces of Canada there were five distinct and rival Presbyterian organizations. These had an aggregate of only sixty ministers, and represented a Presbyterian population of only one hundred and ten

thousand. There were five organizations instead of one simply because the divisions of the old country had crossed the ocean, and they grew and flourished despite the fact that there was not the slightest local reason for perpetuating them. The ground of them had no existence on the western side of the Atlantic.

The Beginning of Unions.—After the synod in connection with the Church of Scotland severed its connection with that body, its attitude toward the Synod of Nova Scotia was more friendly. The negotiations which were broken off in 1841, were renewed. Some grounds of difference still existed which kept the two synods apart a few years longer. But in 1860, the attractive power of spiritual affinity prevailed over all obstacles, and brought them together in a happy union. The united body took the name of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces.

At the time of the disruption, three ministers, out of sympathy for the Free Church of Scotland, withdrew from the Synod of New Brunswick. Others joined them until they grew into a synod of eighteen ministers. In 1866, this synod united with the Church of the Lower Provinces.

There were still two small synods in the Eastern Provinces remaining in connection with the Church of Scotland. These were the Synod of New Brunswick, and the Synod of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. In 1868, they united and took the name of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces. Hence at this period the whole of Eastern Canada, so far as Presbyterian interests were concerned, was divided between these two Churches—the Church of the Lower Provinces and the Church of the Maritime Provinces.

The former was free ; while the latter continued in connection with the Church of Scotland.

Beginnings of Church Life in the Western Provinces.—By the fall of Quebec in 1759, all the western territory passed into the possession of Great Britain. The immigrant population amounted to seventy thousand, nearly all of whom were Roman Catholics. The few Protestants were noted only for their immorality.

The first Protestant minister was the Rev. George Henry, a military chaplain who was present at the capture of Quebec. He gathered a small congregation of Presbyterians, and preached to them in the college of the Jesuits.

The first Presbyterian minister settled in Montreal was the Rev. John Bethune. This was in the year 1786, in which year he organized a congregation in that city. He was followed by the Rev. John Young. Up to the year 1792, they worshiped in a Roman Catholic Church. When pay was offered, the good fathers declined to receive any remuneration for the use of their church ; but accepted thankfully as a gift, “ two hogsheads of Spanish wine and a box of candles.” Under the ministry of Mr. Young, St. Gabriel Street Church was built, the first Protestant Church erected in the Western Provinces.

The old Province of Quebec was divided in 1791 into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, now known as Ontario and Quebec. Very slowly were the religious destitutions of these provinces met. The Dutch Reformed and the Associate Reformed churches of the United States sent missionaries into this region who did much valuable work but formed no organizations.

Organization and Union of Two Synods.—As in the case of the Eastern Provinces, the Burgher Synod of Scot-

land furnished the preachers for the first presbytery. These were Robert Easton, William Stuart, William Bell and William Taylor. In the year 1818 they organized the Presbytery of the Canadas. After a few years, this presbytery was dissolved, and reorganized into the United Presbytery of Upper Canada.

At this time there were quite a number of ministers connected with the Church of Scotland, who were laboring in these parts. Instead of joining with the organization already formed, they met together on the 8th of June, 1831, and organized the synod of the Presbyterian Church in connection with the Church of Scotland. On the 15th day of the same month, the United Presbytery changed its organization into the United Synod of Upper Canada. These two synods were identical in doctrine and practice. They differed only in certain theoretical points that were never likely to have the slightest practical value. In the course of a few years they discovered that their useless theories, by keeping them apart, were costing them too much. In the presence of certain serious difficulties which were confronting both churches, they needed the strength which comes from unity. On the 3d day of July, 1840, they became one, retaining the connection which had hitherto existed between one of them and the Church of Scotland. "This was a union partly of love and partly of policy. Scottish Presbyterianism was called upon to maintain its rights, in the face of an aggrandizing English Episcopacy; and for this a solid front was desirable."

A Contention for Denominational Rights.—When the constitution was adopted in 1791, one seventh of the unceded land of the Western Provinces was set apart for "the support of a Protestant clergy." The clergy of the

Church of England modestly claimed to be the only Protestant clergy, and consequently entitled to the whole of this reserve, amounting to three millions of acres. The Presbyterians having been reared, for the most part, in connection with the National Church of Scotland, held to a different doctrine, and were arrogant enough to resist the Episcopal claim. The Legislative Council appointed by the crown, and the Legislative Assembly elected by the people aligned themselves on opposite sides. The battle was joined and was waged fiercely for many years. The Episcopal leaders urged that great harm would come to the imperial government if the Presbyterian preachers should be recognized as Protestant clergy. On the other hand, the Presbyterians urged that great harm would be done to the cause of truth and justice if they were not so recognized. The Presbyterians won the fight, but, strange to relate, the defeated party carried off most of the spoils of victory. The imperial government decided that the clergy of the Church of England should have two thirds and the synod in connection with the Church of Scotland, one third.

Founding of Queen's College.—The same intolerant spirit, which was exhibited in the matter of the Clergy Reserve, refused to admit that the Presbyterians were entitled to any government aid in building up an educational institution for training a ministry. The Presbyterians applied to the government to endow certain chairs for their benefit in King's College, Toronto. Their application was refused. This put them on their mettle, and going to work with a zeal they built a college of their own, and opened it in 1842, with Dr. Liddell as principal, and the Rev. P. C. Campbell as professor of classics. This was Queen's College at Kingston.

The Missionary Synod of Canada.—In 1832 three missionaries arrived in Western Canada, who had been sent thither by the United Associate Synod of Scotland. They found two synods already on the field, both of which had been formed out of ministers from the Presbyterian churches of Scotland. These missionaries thought at first that they could cast in their lot with one of these synods, inasmuch as its members were of the same ecclesiastical pedigree with themselves. But on a careful analysis of views, it was discovered that the synod was willing to receive aid from the government. These missionaries were from a church which had within the past few years become converted to the doctrine that the church should depend for support exclusively on the voluntary contributions of its members. This question had been debated in Scotland until considerable heat was generated. Consequently the missionaries felt in conscience bound to add another organization to the list. On Christmas Day, 1834, they formed the Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas. By the year 1843, this presbytery had grown sufficiently large to split into three, and to organize the Missionary Synod of Canada. The next year, there was admitted to this synod the Missionary Presbytery of Canada East, making the total membership of the synod at that time twenty-two.

Effects of the Disruption in the West.—When the disruption of 1843 occurred in the Church of Scotland, the quarrel was taken up in the Western Provinces, with the same zest as in the Eastern. The majority of the synod in connection with the Church of Scotland remained loyal to the mother church; but twenty-six entered their protest and went out. These organized the Synod of the Free Church of Canada on the 10th day of

July, 1844. At its first meeting this new synod appointed a commission to look after the interests of education and home missions. It also authorized the publication of a pastoral address, setting forth in strong terms its reasons for repudiating connection with the National Church of Scotland.

Establishment of Knox College, Toronto.—Before the division of the synod, Queen's College had been put in successful operation. This college with its professors remained with the old synod. Nearly all the students cast in their lot with the new synod. Here was an urgent necessity for a new educational institution, as the two synods could not coöperate in any form of church work. This urgent necessity was met at once by opening a school in Toronto, with two professors, and using a room in a private residence as a place of meeting. In the course of a few years this small beginning grew into Knox College.

Union of Two Western Synods, 1861.—When the Free Church Synod was formed, that made three separate organizations in the Western Provinces. These continued to work separately and with more or less hurtful rivalry until 1861. In that year a happy union was formed by the Mission Synod and the Free Church Synod, the former body bringing into the union sixty-eight ministers, and the latter one hundred and fifty-eight. This union was made possible by the refusal of the Free Church Synod to accept of state aid. While it did not profess the doctrine of voluntarism, it was constrained by circumstances to adopt this principle in practice. The United Church took the name of the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church.

One Presbyterian Church for the Whole of Canada.

—From the year 1868 up to the year 1875, there were two Presbyterian organizations in the East, and two in the West. In each division there was one free synod, and one synod in connection with the Church of Scotland. The year 1875 is memorable for having witnessed the union of these four synods. “In the early part of Tuesday, the 15th of June, 1875, the supreme courts of the four negotiating churches met separately for the last time in different churches in the city of Montreal. Each adopted a resolution to repair to Victoria Hall, and there to consummate the union. In this place, accordingly all the delegates met at 11 A. M. One of the clerks read the Articles of Union. These were subscribed by the four moderators, who gave to each other the right hand of fellowship. One of the moderators then declared that the four churches were now united and formed one church to be designated and known as THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA. On its rolls were the names of 623 ministers. The Rev. John Cook, D. D., minister of St. Andrew's Church, Quebec, and Principal of Morrin College was unanimously elected Moderator of the Assembly.”

The history of the Church since the union has demonstrated that the Lord was in the movement which brought all the divisions of the sacramental host into one organic whole. His smile has rested on the labors of the united body, and no dissention or friction has marred its harmony.

Home Mission Fields.—The Church carries on an extensive home mission work in both the Eastern and Western Provinces, each of these general divisions having its own board for the supervision of the work. The most interesting fields, however, are in the West. Stretching

from Ontario to the Pacific Ocean is a vast territory two thousand miles in length, through which runs the Canada Pacific Railroad. This country, rich in agricultural and mineral resources, is attracting to itself a strong and continuous tide of immigration. To meet the needs of this incoming population of most varied character, the Church is taxing her energies to the utmost; and splendid is the record which she has made. By way of illustration it may be mentioned that in the year of the union there were in the two northwestern provinces, Manitoba and British Columbia, and the intermediate territories only one presbytery with about twelve ordained missionaries and professors. Such was the growth during the next sixteen years that in the same region there was a synod with seven presbyteries, seventy-one settled pastors and four professors. The home-mission work in the same field was represented by fifty-two ordained ministers, sixty-eight students and eighteen catechists, beside twenty-three teachers and matrons employed in Indian and Chinese missions.

French Evangelization.—There are in the Dominion of Canada about 1,250,000 French-speaking Roman Catholics, the great majority of whom are in the Province of Quebec. While Canada was under control of France, Romanism was firmly planted, and endowed with ample resources. When Canada passed under control of England, the Romish Church was not disturbed. "By the articles of capitulation in 1759 and 1760, by the treaty of peace in 1763, and by an act of the imperial Parliament in 1774, all rights and powers previously enjoyed by the clergy were conserved, and the church regarded as established by law." An eminent authority says, "It is well to recognize the fact that so far as regards resources in

the form of money, of swarming ecclesiastics, fully-equipped institutions of all kinds, and legal enactments, popery is more strongly established in the Province of Quebec than in France and Italy, and holds the balance of political power in the whole Dominion." This state of affairs is a standing challenge to the Protestant churches of Canada to put forth the utmost efforts to make gospel truth victorious over Romish superstition. Very earnestly and persistently has the Presbyterian Church prosecuted this work under the direction of its board of French evangelization. Its success has been gratifying. Many thousands of converts have been won, among them a considerable number of priests; numerous churches have been built up; and the leaven of the gospel is every year spreading more widely. Under the effective ministry of Father Chiniquy, a converted priest, more than 2,000 were won to Protestantism in the course of one year. Many indications show that the burdens of Rome have made the hearts of these people weary, and that they are wonderfully prepared to respond to the gospel of liberty and light. There is abundant reason to regard the work of French evangelization, thus far successfully prosecuted, as the prophecy of far greater things in the near future.

Foreign Missions.—When the several churches came together in 1875, and consolidated their work it was found that they had representatives in the foreign field, in Formosa and Ho-nan, in the West India Islands, in the New Hebrides, in Central India, and in British Columbia. In the work of foreign missions the Church of Canada has furnished some of the great heroes of modern history. Never to be forgotten is the name of John Geddie, the pioneer in Ancityum, the results of whose labors are

summed up in the inscription on the tablet behind the pulpit in which he preached: "When he landed in 1848, there were no Christians here, and when he left in 1872, there were no heathen." In like loving remembrance must the name of George N. Gordon be held, who, with his heroic wife, enriched with martyr blood the island of Erromanga. His brother, J. D. Gordon, deserves equal honor, because the only vengeance he sought for his brother's death was the privilege of taking up his work, and receiving the martyr's crown on the same soil. In the same class must be placed the name of G. L. McKay, who traveled barefoot through Formosa, sleeping in ox-stables, and damp huts, undergoing hardships and facing perils without number.

The Church which furnished so many missionaries of heroic mold has been rewarded with rich harvests of souls won for Christ from the darkness of heathenism. It has also been rewarded with rich showers of blessing on its labors at home. The united Church, starting in 1875 with a communion roll of about 85,000, has grown till it now numbers considerably over 200,000. It is strong in wealth, well equipped with colleges and theological seminaries, strong in elements of Christian character, animated throughout with aggressive zeal, has before it an open door, and may well face the future with a buoyant hope.

CHAPTER XVI

BRITISH COLONIAL CHURCHES

I. AUSTRALIA

THE enterprising Dutch discovered this island in the early years of the seventeenth century; but it was left for Captain Cook to take formal possession of it in 1770 in the name of Great Britain. Then the exploration of its coast lines began; and by the year 1788, a spot was found at Botany Bay, near the present site of the city of Sydney, for dumping a shipload of convicts. For a number of years the only use that England had for that far-away land was as a waste heap where she might get rid of her lawless citizens, who were hardly bad enough to merit hanging, and yet too bad to deserve a longer continuance in a civilized land. After awhile, however, sufficient attractions were discovered in the way of climate, soil and mineral products to make it worth while for men to go there without waiting to be convicted of crime.

Political Divisions and Government.—Australia is divided into six distinct provinces, including Tasmania, an island lying 100 miles to the south. These provinces have local self-government, but have recently been united under one federal administration. This political division has had its divisive effect on the churches. As colonization began much earlier, and developed more rapidly in some of these provinces than others, of course the churches differ much in size and vigor. The oldest of the provinces is New South Wales; Western Australia

was set apart in 1829; Southern Australia in 1834; Victoria in 1851; and Queensland in 1859. It will be convenient to sketch each provincial church separately.

1. The Church of New South Wales.—This church had its beginnings in the labors of the Rev. John Dunmore Lang. He was a remarkable man and did a remarkable work. His activities were diversified in character, promoting in many ways the healthy development of the new colonies. He was born at Greenock, Scotland, in 1799, and died at Sydney, New South Wales, 1878. The year in which he was licensed, 1823, he went out to Australia on invitation of the governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane. The governor was himself a Presbyterian elder. By the united efforts of these two eminent men a large number of emigrants were induced to leave Britain to try their fortunes in the land across the southern seas. The number of newcomers was sufficient to alter the complexion of the population, and to give it a reputable character. Dr. Lang did not confine himself to the work which belongs especially to the minister of the gospel, but served in the colonial parliament for several successive terms, and was also connected with the newspaper press. In every sphere of labor his efforts were directed with telling effect to the betterment of the country.

Church Organization.—As soon as Dr. Lang had made himself acquainted with the condition and needs of the colony, he returned to Scotland, and brought out a number of teachers. On another visit, shortly afterwards, he brought back with him five ministers, in association with whom he organized the Presbytery of New South Wales. This was in 1826. Ten years later he made another journey to Scotland and succeeded in adding nineteen more ministers to his force. He claimed,

and, after some legal contention, secured for the Presbyterian ministry the same support from the government that the government was in the habit of giving to the Episcopal clergy. He rightly asserted that there must be no difference in the eye of the state between Scotch Presbytery and English Episcopacy. With a strong band of helpers, he set himself to the task of possessing the land. There was reason to anticipate splendid victories; but unfortunately almost immediately dissension arose over methods of church expansion. Dr. Lang was for modifying old methods to suit new circumstances. He believed there should be such flexibility of system as would adapt administration to novel exigencies. His co-presbyters were for a rigid adherence to the policies of the home church. The outcome of the dissension was a split. Dr. Lang went out, taking with him a majority of the newcomers, and formed the Synod of New South Wales. Only two years elapsed, when the two parties came together again, and formed the Synod of Australia. Dr. Lang did not go into the union. He had become dissatisfied with the concurrent endowment system of the government, an arrangement by which all denominations drew equally from the government for their financial support. He thought the government was too liberal, or rather too indiscriminating, giving alike for the propagation of truth and falsehood. He, therefore, withdrew and started an independent Presbyterian Church, based on the principle of voluntary self-support.

Troubles Brought From the Home Land.—The church of Australia was formed out of material derived from the Church of Scotland. It was inevitable, therefore, that its members should feel profound interest in the strife which in 1843 gave birth to

the Free Church. The cause of this strife had no existence in Australia, and there was no good reason why the Church of Australia should be involved in it. Fully recognizing this fact, the church tried to play a neutral part, merely expressing sympathy with the two parties in Scotland. But this would not satisfy the belligerents. Each of the two Scotch churches demanded that the brethren in Australia should declare in its favor. Reluctantly they joined in the fray, and the result was a split in the church. Of the twenty-two ministers, sixteen remained faithful to the National Church of Scotland, and six went out to form a church in sympathy with the Free Church of Scotland. What with the church formed by Dr. Lang, there were now three churches where there should have been but one. This unhappy condition lasted until 1865 when the fragments came together, and once more there was a united Church in New South Wales.

Better Equipment and Larger Growth.—The more the resources of the country became known, the more rapid was the growth of population. The church found increasing difficulty in meeting the growing demands upon her meager resources. It was absolutely dependent on the mother churches in Scotland for ministers, and the coming of these did not average one a year. Consequently it marked an epoch in the struggling church when St. Andrew's Presbyterian College was established in connection with the University of Sydney, in 1881. Through the agency of this college, the church was able, in some measure, to supply her own needs in the way of a home-trained ministry. By the liberality of a few noble and generous-hearted laymen, the church was able to enter upon a vigorous prosecution of home-

mission work under the energetic and wise leadership of the Rev. J. M. Ross. Progress was rapid, and from that time forward the church held steadily on her way. Soon its strength was sufficient to inaugurate what has proved a successful mission work among the aborigines, Chinese immigrants, and the South Sea islanders.

2. **The Church of Victoria.**—The province of Victoria was separated from New South Wales in 1851. This same year gold was discovered at Ballarat, the news of which created a wide-spread contagion of "gold-fever." At that date the population of the province numbered 77,000. In three years, it increased threefold, the increase coming from Great Britain, America, and elsewhere. It is obvious from the motives which brought the newcomers that they would furnish a much more needy than hopeful field for the preaching of the gospel. They had left the beneficent influences of the church, and of the older civilization to better their fortunes; and many of them were only too willing to be free from the restraints of the home land that they might give themselves with greater gusto to the life of wild adventure.

Beginning of the Church in Victoria.—As early as 1834, while Victoria was still a part of New South Wales, settlers drifted south to Port Phillip, the site of the present splendid city of Melbourne. Some Scotch Presbyterians belonged to this vanguard. However intent on earthly gain, they never could be indifferent to spiritual needs. The first preacher to minister to them was the Rev. James Clow, a retired East India chaplain. Before his unlooked-for arrival, application had been made to the Presbytery of New South Wales for a preacher, and in response to this appeal the Rev. James Forbes came to them. He proved an earnest and effect-

ive worker ; and at once took charge of the congregation, gathered through the voluntary services of the retired chaplain. By the year 1842, four others had joined him and the Presbytery of Melbourne was organized in connection with the Synod of New South Wales.

Division and Reunion.—When the Synod of New South Wales was rent by the strife imported from the mother church over the disruption of 1843, the Rev. James Forbes was one of the six ministers who went out from the synod. He gave up the Church in Melbourne, and with a few followers organized a church in sympathy with the Free Church of Scotland. A little later on, the United Presbyterians of Scotland sent out a small number of ministers and organized churches in connection with their assembly. Thus when the Colony of Victoria was set off from New South Wales, there were three Presbyterian denominations contending for the same ground. It was just at this time that the colony began to grow so rapidly, owing to the discovery of gold. In the presence of growing demands, the necessity for economizing men and money in the work of the Lord was increasingly felt. For three churches to be squandering their means in building up rival congregations came to be recognized as a sin against reason and righteousness. Negotiations for union were set on foot, and in the course of a few years these were successful. After 1870, there was only one church in the province, to the development of which all parties gave themselves with hearty good will. To-day the Presbyterian Church of Victoria is conspicuous for its robust strength and splendid proportions. Its handsome and costly edifices adorn the large cities ; its home missions and missions to

the heathen are prosecuted with gratifying prosperity ; and educational facilities have been provided for training its youth, and educating its ministry. This church has the honor of furnishing to the work of foreign missions, the Rev. John G. Paton, D. D., the foremost missionary hero of the present generation. Ormond College, forming a part of the University of Melbourne, is a worthy monument to the munificent liberality of him whose name it bears. Connected with this college is a theological hall, based on a good endowment. The province of Victoria leads all the provinces of Australia in point of population and wealth, and contains more than half of all the Presbyterians in that country.

3. **Churches of the Other Colonies.**—There are nearly fifty thousand Presbyterian communicants in Australia. About five sixths of these are in the two provinces of New South Wales and Victoria. Queensland has five thousand of the remaining one sixth. It will thus be seen that the churches of South Australia, West Australia and Tasmania are very feeble indeed. The reason for this is that the population of those provinces is sparse and widely-scattered. Their resources have been but little developed ; nor is there prospect of rapid development until the other more attractive provinces have been more completely occupied. But each of these provinces has in its borders a well-organized Presbyterian Church, prepared to keep pace with whatever growth there may be in population.

The churches of the six provinces have become federated in one General Assembly. So strong has the sentiment of unity, or Christian fraternity, grown in the last few years that a movement has been inaugurated to draw all the evangelical churches of Australia

into a coöperative union. It is a worthy sentiment, but it is hoped that even so worthy a sentiment may not be permitted to override the claims of truth. The Presbyterian Church of Australia has fought its way through grave difficulties and great discouragements. It is now in a position to make its voice heard in behalf of sound doctrine, and to do this is by no means the least of the responsibilities that rest upon it.

II. NEW ZEALAND

About 1,200 miles to the southeast of Australia lie the two great islands, which constitute the principal part of the New Zealand group. The name of this group preserves the historic fact that the discoverers were the adventurous seamen of Holland. They did nothing further than to make the discovery. The indomitable Captain Cook set foot on these shores in 1769, and became the first explorer. Little was done in the way of colonization until 1840, when the native chiefs signed a treaty acknowledging the supremacy of Great Britain. From this time forth exploration and settlement went forward in earnest. The two islands, which alone need to be considered for the purpose of our history, are North Island and South Island. Each of these is something over five hundred miles long, and the two together have an area of about 100,000 square miles.

1. The Church on North Island.—In the year 1840, a large number of emigrants, including a considerable proportion of Scots, landed at Port Nicholson. With these came the Rev. Mr. McFarlane to look after their religious interests. Wellington, the capital of the colonial government was selected for his field of labor.

From this as a center he radiated up and down the coast among the smaller settlements. The first presbytery was organized in 1856, a majority of the ministers composing it having come from the National Church of Scotland. By the prosecution of a vigorous home-mission work, under the leadership of the Rev. David Bruce, the little groups of Presbyterians, scattered all over the island, were visited and brought together in churches. In the course of a few years the one presbytery grew to eight. All the Scotch Presbyterian churches, and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland made contribution of ministers. At present, the strength of the church on North Island is represented by ninety-six congregations containing about twelve thousand communicants.

2. **The Church on South Island.**—The formation of the church on this island was a little later than on North Island; but it began its existence under such favorable auspices as to outstrip its neighbor. The New Zealand company, a purely commercial corporation, wanted a good class of immigrants to develop their various interests in the district of Otago. They thought of the persistent energy of the thrifty Scot, and offered special inducements to members of the Free Church of Scotland. An agreement was reached, and in the year 1848, a company of 236 zealous Free Churchmen, with the Rev. T. Burns as their pastor, landed at Dunedin. The colony grew with steady prosperity, and in the course of six years, a presbytery was organized with three ministers and two elders.

In 1861, gold was discovered at a point sixty miles from Dunedin. This brought a rush of colonists, under the impulse of the "gold fever." They, like all other such colonists, were more in need of the gospel than

anxious to have it. The church was poorly supplied with laborers to meet the new and rapidly-growing demands ; but it made the most of its resources, putting forth extraordinary efforts which were greatly blessed. While the population increased with prodigious strides, and wealth was accumulated in unusual measure, the church shared in the prosperity. It has lengthened its cords and strengthened its stakes until now it occupies a commanding position. In connection with Dunedin University, the church has a theological hall, which relieves it to a considerable extent from dependence on the home church for its supply of ministers.

3. Union of the Two Churches.—It would seem that there should have been no trouble about uniting two churches, identical in race, language and theological standards. But the church of the North Island was a child of the Established Church of Scotland ; and the church of South Island was a child of the Free Church. The antagonisms in the home land were not transported in all their strength, but a sufficient amount found its way across the sea to give rise to suspicion. Especially the Church of Otago was fearful that their neighbors to the north were a little lax touching certain administrative methods, and forms of worship. By judicious diplomacy a union was brought about in 1862, but had to be dissolved for the sake of peace the next year. A Union of Coöperation took its place, until a very recent date, when the spirit of brotherhood and mutual confidence brought them together again in one General Assembly. By this consolidation of forces the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand is splendidly equipped for service, and marshals an army 28,000 strong.

III. SOUTH AFRICA

There are four colonial governments in South Africa, under the supremacy of Great Britain. Their white population is made up principally of Dutch, now known as Boers, a word meaning farmers. The history of all these colonies is closely interlinked, and yet it may be in the interests of clearness to look at them separately.

1. **The Church of Cape Colony.**—Cape Colony was settled by the Dutch in 1652. The first comers were characterized by the thrift, the intelligence, and the liberal type of piety common to the freedom-loving Hollanders of that day. They were joined before the end of the century by many Huguenots, who were seeking refuge from the persecutions that were desolating their native land. Here were the same elements that formed the settlements of the New Netherlands in America. Dr. David Livingstone, the great missionary, called attention in a remarkable paper written by him in 1852, to the different histories made by the two sets of colonists. Those who came to America joined the march of progress, and contributed their full quota of helpful energy in the development of the United States. In fact it has been pretty clearly shown that through them Holland contributed more than any other European nation to the upbuilding of the free institutions of the American Republic. On the other hand, those who went to South Africa settled down into a petrified conservatism. Their descendants suffered a decline of piety, neglected education, and became narrow and sordid. They continued to cherish a reverence for the Bible, and to hold on with wonderful tenacity to many of the customs of the fatherland; but they were entirely wanting in those noble, intellectual and spiritual aspirations which

pushed the country of their ancestors to the front rank among the progressive nations of modern times. The Boers brought into contact with savage tribes, instead of regarding this as a call to give them the gospel, regarded it as an opportunity to take these heathen for their own inheritance. The leader of the first colonists, Van Riebeck, records in his journal his calculation as to "how many Hottentot cattle might be stolen with the loss of but a few of his own party." Not the Hottentot cattle only, but the Hottentots themselves were appropriated by the Dutch to their own use.

The immigration from Holland continued up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, at which time the white population of Cape Colony amounted to 27,000 and the slave population was slightly larger. All this while there were no pastors looking after the spiritual wants of the people. The only ministers among the colonists were government chaplains. These were not numerous, nor were they imbued with a missionary spirit.

Improvement Under British Rule.—In 1806, Great Britain took possession of Cape Colony, but her rights were not recognized by Holland till 1815. Soon after this latter date, there was a change for the better in the religious situation. On application of the government to the Church of Scotland, eleven ministers were sent out in 1822. These found themselves somewhat hampered by restrictions imposed by Dutch customs, but notwithstanding this fact they did much to bring order out of confusion, and to build up the waste places. Considering the succession of wars and troubles of various kinds through which Cape Colony has passed, the growth of its Christian institutions has been gratifying. To-day, the

synod of the Dutch Reformed Church of Cape Colony represents more than a hundred thousand communicants. In addition there is a Dutch Reformed Mission Church in South Africa containing more than eight thousand communicants. Nor is this all; there is a Presbyterian Church in South Africa with a roll of eleven thousand members.

2. **The Church of Natal.**—Many of the Dutch were always restless and dissatisfied under the rule of the English. When in 1834, England emancipated all the slaves throughout her entire dominion, this measure provoked still further discontent in the breasts of the Dutch farmers who were very reluctant to give up their Hottentots. England paid the owners in treasury notes, but many of those who received these notes did not understand their value, and suffered themselves to be cheated out of them. Finally the discontent culminated in a remarkable migration. Ten thousand Boers, selling their farms at a sacrifice, took their households effects and their live stock and set out on a journey northward in ox wagons. They crossed the Orange River which forms the northern boundary of Cape Colony, and then turned eastward and planted a colony in Natal, a little bit of seacoast, lying several miles to the northeast of Cape Colony. Here they came into serious conflict with the Zulus. A bloody war was precipitated, and the Zulus, having neither fire-arms nor horses, were slaughtered like sheep whenever the fighting was in open battle.

Dr. Lindley Among the Boers.—It is interesting to note that the first minister to preach to these migrating Boers was an American missionary. The American Board sent out three missionaries who began their work among the Zulus in 1836, the very year in which the

Boers came to take possession of their land. The constant raids and reprisals between the Boers and the Zulus made it impossible for the missionaries to carry on their work. One of their number, Mr. Lindley, afterwards Dr. Lindley, was invited by the Dutch to labor among them. The Board, on hearing all the circumstances of the case, thought it wise in him to accept the invitation. The Boers built him a house and nearly supported him. He preached to them on the Sabbath, and taught a numerous school during the week. For seven or eight years he continued his labors among them with marked success. He made yearly journeys in an ox wagon to the Orange and Transvaal Territories. Appointments were sent ahead, and large numbers would assemble in their wagons, and days would be spent in preaching, catechising, admitting members to the church, and in administering the sacraments. Among the converts under Dr. Lindley's ministry was Paul Kruger, known in recent years as the famous president of the Transvaal Republic. The memory of this North Carolina missionary is still precious with the Boers, and only a few years ago they named a village Lindley in his honor. The church in Natal has never grown to large proportions, its present membership numbering about two thousand.

3. Churches of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.—These churches have substantially the same history. In 1843, the British government took Natal under its protection. Whereupon most of the Boers, who had gone there to get rid of English domination, moved westward, and founded the Orange Free State. But this also was taken under British control in 1848, and then the more incorrigible of the Boers "trecked" across the River Vaal and established the Transvaal Republic.

These were the Boers who in pressing their conquests over the native tribes came into collision with Livingstone. They treated the Bakwains, among whom Livingstone was laboring and whose chief he was instrumental in converting, with the greatest injustice and cruelty, destroying men and women, and reducing their children to slavery. Dr. Livingstone accuses them of striving by this means to replace the Hottentots whom the English had emancipated. The Boers did not stop with making war on those for whom Livingstone labored; they attacked his house at Kolobeng, and destroyed it along with all his property. Obviously the Boers were no friends of missions. They thought it both more easy and more profitable to make slaves than to make Christians of the natives.

Labors of the Rev. Andrew Murray.—It is to be said, however, that at the time when the Boers of the Transvaal were exciting the just indignation of the great-hearted Livingstone, they had had as yet no minister among them. In 1849, the Rev. Andrew Murray was settled at Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State. He had the whole of the two territories on either side of the Vaal River as his parish. His work consisted chiefly of extensive itineraries, during which the people would gather at different points in camp meetings; and several days would be spent in evangelistic services and in church organization.

Liberalism Introduced from Holland.—In 1853, the Transvaal received its first settled pastor in the person of Mr. Van der Hoff, who was sent out by Holland. Unfortunately he belonged to the rationalistic school which had grown up in Holland. He was joined later by three other ministers from the same school. These put their

impress on the church of the Transvaal, and led most of its congregations to sever their connection with the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Colony. In 1857, through the labors of Mr. Pastnia, who was sent by the Christian Reformed Church of Holland, a dissenting church was formed in the Transvaal. Into this church have been gathered all those in all the four colonies who stand firmly by the old orthodoxy as it found expression in the Synod of Dort.

Present Status.—There are seven distinct churches in the four South African colonies. All, save one of these, are Dutch in their constituency, and are closely related in their traditions, customs, forms of worship and doctrines to the mother churches in Holland. The aggregate membership of these seven churches is slightly over two hundred thousand.

XVII

MISSIONARY TERRITORY

CHURCHES ON MISSION GROUND

IN the great awakening of the spirit of world-evangelization, which has caused the last hundred years to be called the "Missionary Century," the Presbyterian churches enjoyed their full share. Not that they were first to feel the breath of this revival, nor that they measure up to their full standard of duty, but relatively they occupy an honorable place among the evangelical churches of Christendom. At present their contributions will perhaps average more per member than those of any other church—the noble little Moravian Church always excepted. They have planted the blue banner in all the larger nations of heathenism, and have made many different people to "hear the wonderful works of God in their own language, wherein they were born."

Admiral Coligny, who perished in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the greatest of the Huguenots, has been credited with the first efforts to give the gospel, as taught by Protestants, to the heathen. Calvin has also been honored for having given his warm approval and great influence to these efforts; but the ill-fated expedition which Coligny sent to Brazil in 1556 was rather an effort to provide a refuge for the persecuted Christians of France than to convert the heathen, although it did result in the preaching of the gospel for a short while to the aborigines. We must come down the course of history

many years to find the beginning of Protestant missions ; and not till the nineteenth century was considerably advanced did the Presbyterians commit themselves with any degree of vigor, or distinctness of purpose to this work. It does not fall in with our design to trace the progress of their missionary enterprises, nor to give all the results ; but it seems desirable to notice briefly some of the more conspicuous Presbyterian churches which have grown up on heathen soil, and especially those which have already taken their place, and also those which are preparing to take their place, as independent entities in the great Presbyterian family. We may as well begin nearest home.

I. The Presbyterian Church of Mexico.—The Presbyterians North and South began work almost simultaneously in Mexico, and this no longer ago than 1872. The population, amounting to eleven and a half millions, is composed of Spaniards, Indians and a mixture of the two. This population has been steeped in the errors of Romanism for more than three centuries. But a ready entrance was found for the truth, and despite the persistent and sometimes violent opposition of Romish priests, a Presbyterian Church soon sprang up in connection with each of the above mentioned bodies. These grew into four presbyteries, and then it occurred to them that the proper and Christian thing was to get together in one organization. The mother churches gave their cordial approval. Whereupon the four presbyteries, three of them in connection with the Presbyterian Church North, and one of them in connection with the Presbyterian Church South, met together in the City of Mexico on the 8th day of July, 1901, and formed the “General Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Mexico.”

This synod consists of forty-four ministers, and represents five thousand communicants.

2. **Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil.**—Here as in Mexico, the two Presbyterian churches of the United States, have wrought together to build up a united Presbyterian Church. Before the separation of the Church into Northern and Southern, it began work in Brazil, entering the capital in 1859. After the division, the Southern Presbyterian Church sent missionaries to Brazil in 1869. The work here was very similar to that in Mexico—it was among a degenerate Latin race, thoroughly saturated with Romanism in its worst form. The late Pope Leo left a picture of it which needs no touching up by a prejudiced Protestant hand: "In every diocese ecclesiastics break all bounds and deliver themselves up to manifold forms of sensuality, and no voice is lifted to imperiously summon pastors to their duty. It is sad to reflect that prelates, priests, and other clergy are never found to be doing service among the poor; they are never in lazar house, or hospital; never in orphan asylum or hospice; in the dwellings of the afflicted or distressed, or engaged in works of beneficence. They as a rule are ever absent where human misery exists, unless paid as chaplains, or a fee is given. On the other hand, the clergy are always to be found in the houses of the rich or wherever gluttony may be indulged in, and wherever the choicest wines may be obtained." Such clergy have shown their attachment to a church which indulges them in luxury and license, by stirring up mobs to prevent missionaries from preaching a gospel that demands pure living. But God has been with the missionaries and has signally blessed their efforts. In 1888, acting in obedience to a desire

common to the native converts and to the missionaries, the churches which the two Presbyterian denominations had built up, came together in organic unity and formed the Synod of Brazil. There were at that time four presbyteries and about four thousand communicants. There are now seven presbyteries, and the communicant roll has more than doubled.

3. **The Union Church of Christ in Japan.**—Nothing has been more marked in the history of Japan than its intense nationalism. It has shown a marvelous willingness to receive western ideas, including Christian ideas, but it is not willing to submit to any kind of foreign domination. When it absorbs and assimilates new ideas, it organizes them into visible forms, and gives practical effect to them after a manner altogether its own. After an unhappy experience with Jesuit missionaries in the sixteenth century, Japan closed her ports against foreigners, and prohibited the preaching of the “vile Jesus doctrine” on pain of death. The ports were opened in 1854, but the prohibition against Christianity was not removed till 1872. Since that time Japan has been furnished with a different type of Christianity from that furnished by the Jesuits. With that acuteness and quickness of apprehension, characteristic of the Japanese, multitudes of them have discovered in the pure gospel of Christ the religion which Japan needs, and have embraced it with enthusiasm.

The first Presbyterian missionaries to labor in Japan were from the Dutch Reformed Church, the Presbyterian Church, North, and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. When these had succeeded, under the blessing of God, in building up a number of native churches, these Japanese Christians, true to their national instincts,

insisted on managing their own affairs. Consequently they united in one body taking the name of the Union Church of Christ in Japan. This was in 1877, and all the Presbyterian churches carrying on mission work in Japan since that date, including in addition to those above named, the German Reformed, the Southern Presbyterian and the Cumberland Presbyterian, have wrought in coöperation with this native church. It is Presbyterian in form, and Calvinistic in doctrine, but has not copied slavishly any type either of polity or doctrine furnished by the Western Churches. It is distributed into six presbyteries, and its strength is represented by eighty preachers, and eleven thousand communicants.

4. **The Synod of South India.**—The Church of Scotland sent Duff to India in 1829. He made Calcutta the center of his great work, which in so far as it was confined to India, was largely an educational work. A little later, the same church sent other workers who chose as their field, the Presidency of Madras, in Southeast India. When the disruption came in 1843, all the missionaries of the Church of Scotland cast in their lot with the Free Church. They gave up their property, and started on a new foundation. The Church of Scotland sent other, of her sons to man the stations thus deserted. So it came to pass that from 1843 both these Scotch churches have been working side by side in Madras. Adjoining them, at Arcot, since 1858, the Dutch Reformed Church of America has been working. Representatives from these three missions met in the city of Madras in February, 1900, and took steps to form a Union Church. Having drafted a plan of union, they submitted it to the three home churches. Two of these, the Dutch Reformed, and the Free Church, approved it.

The Church of Scotland withheld her assent. The result was that the churches of the Arcot, and the United Free Church Missions, thirty-three in number, united to form the two presbyteries of Madras and Arcot, and these presbyteries formed the South Indian United Church. Its constitution is made up of symbols in harmony with the doctrines and polity of the mother churches.

5. The Presbyterian Church in India.—For thirty years there has been a sentiment among all the Presbyterian missionaries of India favoring the union of all their churches. These missionaries formed the “Presbyterian Alliance of India” for the purpose of bringing about this desired union. But nothing practical was done until a meeting of the Alliance at Allahabad in 1901. Then it was resolved that organic union was not only desirable, but practicable, and a committee was appointed to draw up a synopsis of doctrine, and to formulate a basis of union. The work of this committee is now under consideration by the churches interested. At least twelve Presbyterian bodies are concerned; the missionaries in India being connected with the Presbyterian churches of Scotland, Ireland, England, Wales, Canada, and the United States. The aggregate membership of these churches in India is something over 25,000. It is proposed to unite these in twenty-five presbyteries, and seven synods.

6. The Presbyterian Church in China.—At a conference of Presbyterian missionaries held in Shanghai, October 2, 1901, the following action was taken:—

“I. This conference earnestly desires the unity of the Christian Church in China and cordially welcomes all opportunities of coöperation with all sections of the Church; the conference *resolves*, therefore, to take steps for uniting

more closely the Presbyterian churches, hoping thereby to facilitate the ultimate attainment of wider union.

“II. The conference, therefore, recommends the appointment of a committee to prepare a plan of union, organic or federal as may be found practicable, and submit the same to the church courts concerned.” The movement thus inaugurated has not yet reached its consummation, but its progress gives promise of ultimate success. On the 11th of November, 1903, the committee, appointed according to the above recommendation, and representing seven churches concerned, met at Shanghai, and “*Resolved*, 1. That we, and the several churches to which we belong, agree in holding the word of God, as contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, to be the supreme rule of faith and life.

“2. That the aforesaid churches have, as circumstances required, drawn up and adopted several subordinate standards of doctrine, as confessions of Faith, Catechisms, and other documents, to exhibit the sense in which they understand the Scriptures.

(We also find that the independent Presbyterian churches of Manchuria and Amoy have adopted shorter creeds of their own in harmony with the foregoing standards.)

“3. That in view of the manifest consensus of these documents in the great fundamental matters of faith, obedience, worship and polity, we rejoice to believe that we can heartily, and with great advantage unite together in seeking to advance the glory of God in the salvation of sinners, and in the planting and upbuilding of his church.”

This committee drafted a simple plan of union, which it transmitted to the various Presbyterian missions in China, to be by them considered and transmitted to the

various Chinese Church courts concerned. There are at present two synods in China, including nine presbyteries, in connection with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. At least eight other Presbyterian churches are carrying on work there. The total native membership gathered by all these churches is upwards of 30,000. While there are recognized difficulties in bringing all these into organic unity, yet there is good reason to believe that this consummation, so devoutly to be wished, will be reached within the next three years.

The Publishing House at Shanghai.—One of the most important agencies for the spread of gracious influences in China is the Presbyterian publishing establishment at Shanghai, with its list of over seven hundred works in the native language. From its presses there is going forth an ever-increasing volume of literature, in the way of school books, medical books, hymn books, religious tracts, and above all every variety of edition of the Bible, to enlighten, uplift and save those people.

7. **The Presbyterian Church in Korea.**—Until a very recent date, Korea was known as one of the hermit nations. It shut itself up within itself and resolved that in the exchange of ideas it would neither borrow nor lend. More than a hundred years ago the Roman Catholics found an entrance, and managed at the cost of severe persecutions from time to time, to win a considerable following; but in 1864, the Korean government by a determined and persistent effort wiped out in blood every trace of the Romish Church. In 1873, the Rev. John Ross, sent as a missionary to Manchuria by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, induced a Korean to visit him at Mukden and teach him the language. He translated parts of the Bible into the Korean language,

and by the employment of a few adventurous Korean colporteurs, managed to sow the good seed of the kingdom inside of the hermit nation. By and by, providence set the door slightly ajar, and missionaries from the Northern Presbyterian Church entered in 1884. A little later, these were followed by representatives of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. Later still, the Southern Presbyterian Church sent missionaries to join in the work. It was discovered by the first missionaries of the Northern Church that the seed sown by the Rev. John Ross had not perished. It only needed a little cultivation to begin to yield a most gratifying harvest. During the few years from 1884 to the present, a most hopeful beginning has been made. Connected with the three churches above named there are more than 6,000 communicants. Steps have been taken to organize them all into one independent Korean Presbyterian Church. It is believed that the native Christians are hardly sufficiently instructed in the faith to make it advisable just now to throw on them the responsibility of self-government; but the plan is already mapped out, and the purpose declared to do this as soon as the Church gains a little more strength and experience.

8. The Presbyterian Church in Persia.—The foundations of this church were laid by the American Board, but was transferred to the Northern Presbyterian Church in 1870. The center of its activities is at Urumiah, where a mission college is doing a remarkable educational work. This college has grown out of a school started with seven little boys in a cellar in 1836 by Justin Perkins. It now educates the ministry of the Persian Presbyterian Church; and is patronized by the Mohammedans because of its recognized merits, and the high character of those who teach in it. While the Persian Church is still connected

with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and is largely dependent on it for means to prosecute evangelistic work, yet it is permitted separate representation in the Pan-Presbyterian Council. It has a membership of nearly three thousand.

9. The Presbyterian Church in Syria.—The origin of this church is the same as that in Persia; and it still sustains a loose connection with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. But recently its churches have been organized into three presbyteries, namely, the Presbytery of Sidon, the Presbytery of Beirut and Lebanon, and the Presbytery of Tripoli. Thus the native pastors and elders are being trained to self-government, and the process of evolution will no doubt continue until the church can stand alone.

10. The Synod of Jamaica.—This was the first Presbyterian Church on mission ground to which was granted the privilege of self-government. It owes its origin to mission work begun by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1824; and it still derives a large portion of its ministerial supply and financial support from that source. Its 12,000 members are distributed into six presbyteries, and are served by twenty-eight pastors. This church has a theological hall and educates in part its own ministry. For many years it has carried on mission work in the old Calabar Mission in West Africa.

11. Other Mission Churches.—We have been noticing only those churches which have more or less local autonomy. Some of these have already taken their place as independent members of the Presbyterian family. Others are far on the way to this destination. Besides these, there are thousands of communicants, gathered in native churches, that are still under the nurturing care of

the churches to whose beneficent activities they owe their birth. A large number of such churches are in the East Indies, subject to the control of the Reformed Church of Holland. Another large number are in the West Indies where the United Church of Scotland, and the Presbyterian Church of Canada have been especially active. In Egypt, the United Presbyterian Church of America has done a great work, by which six thousand communicants have been gathered into mission stations along the River Nile for a distance of five hundred miles. In the New Hebrides, there is a missionary synod including more than three thousand communicants, under the oversight of the Presbyterian Church of Australia. In Central and South Africa, successful mission work by various Presbyterian churches and societies have brought into the fold of Christ several thousand communicants. The total results of the foreign mission work of all the Presbyterian churches are represented by a membership of native Christians amounting to 219,475.

AGGREGATE PRESBYTERIANISM

The Presbyterianism of the world is approximately represented in the "Alliance of the Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System." This Alliance was formed by representatives of twenty-two different Presbyterian and Reformed churches. They met in the English Presbyterian College, Guilford Street, London, July 21, 1875, and spent two days in deliberation and prayer. The purpose of the organization is declared in the preamble to the constitution which was adopted at that time. "Whereas, Churches holding the Reformed faith, and organized on Presbyterian principles, are found, though under a variety of names, in different

parts of the world ; Whereas, many of these were long wont to maintain closer relations, but are at present united by no visible bond, whether of fellowship or of work ; and Whereas, in the providence of God, the time seems to have come when they may all more fully manifest their essential oneness, have closer communion with each other, and promote great causes by joint action ; It is agreed to form a Presbyterian Alliance to meet in General Council from time to time, in order to confer upon matters of common interest, and to further the ends for which the Church has been constituted by her divine Lord and King. In forming this Alliance, the Presbyterian churches do not mean to change their fraternal relations with other churches, but will be ready as heretofore to join with them in Christian fellowship, and in advancing the cause of the Redeemer, on the general principle taught in the Reformed confessions that the Church of God on earth, though composed of many members, is one body in the communion of the Holy Ghost, of which body Christ is the Supreme Head, and the Scriptures alone are the infallible law." The Alliance held its first council, July 3-10, 1877, in Edinburgh, Scotland, meeting for sermon in St. Giles Cathedral on the morning of the 3d of July, and in the afternoon of that day in the Free Church Assembly Hall for formal organization and the transaction of business. This was a memorable meeting, as it brought together for the first time the scattered forces of Presbyterianism, and gave the world an opportunity to gauge their strength. Three hundred and thirty-three ministers and elders were present, commissioned by forty-nine Presbyterian churches, in twenty-five different countries. Here was a clear demonstration of the Catholicity of Presbyterianism.

It has crossed all national boundaries, waived aside all race distinctions, and made a home for itself in the hearts of all classes and conditions of men in all parts of the globe. Black and white, red, bronze and yellow, all shades of color from all climes, sat together as brethren in the Lord, and parts of one great denominational confraternity.

Good Work of the Alliance.—The Alliance has held eight councils—the second in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1880, the third in Belfast, Ireland, 1884, the fourth in London, 1888, the fifth in Toronto, Canada, 1892, the sixth in Glasgow, Scotland, 1896, the seventh in Washington, D. C., 1899, and the eighth in Liverpool, England, 1904. In these councils papers have been read and discussions had on all phases of Christian doctrine, of church work, of ecclesiastical administration, of moral and social reforms. These papers and discussions have been published in handsome volumes, and thus there has been created a large body of literature on a great variety of important subjects, many of them questions vital to the welfare and progress of God's kingdom on earth. This literature represents the best thought of the brotherhood of churches, composing the Alliance, and throws a flood of light on the wide range of topics which it covers. It has brought to the attention of the general public many obscure bodies of Presbyterians, and made us acquainted with the social and religious conditions which prevail in countries and communities that have been hitherto a *terra incognita*.

For a short while, Dr. G. W. Blaikie, one of the clerks of the council, edited an able journal called the *Catholic Presbyterian*, which while not an official organ of the Alliance, worthily represented its spirit and aims. In its

pages there is stored away a very considerable amount of historical information, valuable especially to the student of Presbyterianism, which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find elsewhere. It is a matter for profound regret that the *Catholic Presbyterian* should have been so short-lived. It was entitled on its merits to an extended career of usefulness. Its place has been taken in part by the *Quarterly Register*, edited by the Rev. G. D. Mathews, D. D., general secretary of the Alliance. This serves an important purpose as a medium of communication between the different sections of the Alliance, and in helping all who desire to do so to keep abreast of the movements of the day which are of special interest to Presbyterians.

Besides the literature created by the Alliance, it has done good in other directions. It has strengthened the bond of brotherhood between those of like precious faith; it has enabled the strong to help bear the burdens of the weak; and has given a wider horizon to the interests and hopes of all.

The Alliance has made manifest to Presbyterians themselves the extent to which the principles which they hold dear have been accepted by Protestant Christendom, and the part, therefore, which they may reasonably be expected to play in the onward march of God's kingdom. It is an interesting historical fact that after John Calvin had arrested the thought of his age by the publication of his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," and by his masterly work of religious, social and political reform in Geneva, his views had a preponderating influence on all subsequent reforming movements. Not only so, but where his views came into contact with Lutheranism, and the two systems were permitted to contest the ground

on equal terms, as in the Palatinate, Holland and Hungary, Calvinism, with its associated Presbyterianism, won the day. Professor Heron, of Belfast, has hardly overstated the case when he says that "wherever the Reformation had free course, wherever it was permitted to shape itself spontaneously after scripture, and without external influence, it assumed a Presbyterian form." In the statistical returns, published by the last Council of the Alliance, we find mention made of eighty-three independent Presbyterian churches. These represent 32,260 congregations; 27,447 preachers, and 5,137,328 communicants. They expend annually \$40,000,000 in fulfilling the mission to which the Lord calls them. With his continued blessing on their labors, it is evident that their agency will not be an unimportant one in bringing in the millennial reign of peace and righteousness, when "all the earth shall be filled with the glory of Jehovah."



Appendix

THE following statistical tables have been compiled with the greatest care; and while not entirely complete, nor absolutely perfect, they make a fairly accurate exhibit of the numerical strength of the Presbyterian churches of the world.

Statistical Returns from the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches of the World,
Published by the Eighth Council of the Alliance of the Reformed and Presby-
terian Churches, which met in Liverpool, England, July, 1904.

Figures in italics denote returns of a previous year, no information having been furnished for this report.

Churches.	Number of Presby- teries or Classes.	Number of Con- gregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	* Commu- nicant Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Sabbath-school Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
(A) European Continent.											
1. "Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Hel- vetic Confessions in Austria —Church of the Helvetic Confession"	8	93	99	1,105	408	19	80,910	74	202	8,777	. . . .
2. General Synod of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Hungary . . .	57	2,030	1,936	24,348	4,058	222	279,435	2,602	2,921	194,779	. . . .
3. Union of Evangelical Churches, Belgium . . .	1	17	23	78	49	. . .	4,028	17	133	1,874	. . . .
4. Mission Christian Church of Belgium . . .	4	36	36	119	51	. . .	6,531	79	232	3,537	. . . .
5. Synod of the Reformed Churches of Denmark . .	. .	3	5	15	8	. . .	334	2	2	. . . .	. . . .
<i>Carried forward,</i>	70	2,179	2,099	25,665	4,574	241	371,238	2,774	3,490	208,967	. . . .

* These figures are an estimate. To secure the number of adherents multiply them by ten.—W. H. R.

STATISTICAL RETURNS.—CONTINUED.

Churches.	Number of Presbyteries or Classes.	Number of Congregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Church Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Sabbath-school Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
<i>Brought forward,</i>	70	2,179	2,099	25,665	4,574	241	371,238	2,774	3,490	208,967	..
6. Reformed Churches of France	107	533	638	300	..	..	86,000	600	2,000	10,000	..
7. Union of the Free Evangelical Churches of France	6	37	60	150	..	5	4,500	88	350	2,870	..
8. Evangelical Church of Greece	1	5	3	8	6	3	130	5	18	160	..
9. Synodal Union of the Reformed Churches of the East Rhine . . . . .	..	9	7	38	..	..	2,593	7	50	500	..
10. Evangelical Reformed Church of the Province of Hanover	9	121	125	600	15	4	25,000	..	50	900	..
11. Synod of the Reformed Church of Alsace and Lorraine	5	38	52	..	..	12	24,438	49	..	2,000	..
12. Synod of the Waldensian Church, Italy	7	66	98	232	115	..	20,434	130	452	8,660	..
13. The Evangelical Church of Italy . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Carried forward,</i>	205	2,988	3,082	26,993	4,710	265	534,333	3,653	6,410	234,057	..

STATISTICAL RETURNS.—CONTINUED.

Churches.	Number of Presbyteries or Classes.	Number of Congregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Communicant Church Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Sabbath-school Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
<i>Brought forward,</i>	205	2,988	3,082	26,993	4,710	265	534,333	3,653	6,410	234,057	. . . .
14. General Synod of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands	44	1,350	1,403	3,220	. . .	. .	200,000	1,500	3,694	56,000	. . . .
15. Synod of the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands	50	684	544	2,050	. . .	129	190,000	528	2,000	75,000	. . . .
16. Classis of the Old Reformed Churches of Ben- them and East Friesland . .	. .	11	8	30	20	. . .	1,285	4	. . .	404	. . . .
17. Consistory of the Re- formed Church of Warsaw . .	1	11	5	45	. . .	. . .	4,080	3	5	130	. . . .
18. General Assembly of the Spanish Christian Church	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
19. The National Church of Geneva . . . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
20. Presbytery of the Free Evangelical Church of Geneva	1	5	5	20	15	. . .	818	6	110	1,252	. . . .
21. National Church of Canton, Neuchâtel . . . .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
<i>Carried forward,</i>	301	5,049	5,047	32,358	4,745	394	930,516	5,694	12,219	366,843	. . . .

STATISTICAL RETURNS.—CONTINUED.

Churches.	Number of Presby- teries or Classes.	Number of Con- gregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Church Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Teachers and Officers.	Sabbath-school Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
<i>Brought forward.</i>	301	5,049	5,047	32,358	4,745	394	930,516	5,694	12,219	366,843	. . .
22. Free Evangelical Church of Neuchâtel . . .	1	23	34	235	408	. . .	11,561	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
23. National Church of the Canton of Vaud . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
24. Free Evangelical Church of Vaud	1	64	105	203	. . .	12	5,180	62	. . .	. . .	. . .
Total European Continent.	303	5,136	5,186	32,796	5,153	406	947,257	5,756	12,219	366,843	. . .
(B) Great Britain and Ire- land.											
25. Synod of the Presby- terian Church of England .	12	329	334	2,351	3,782	28	79,620	. . .	7,694	94,741	£271,149
26. The Scottish Synod in England in connection with the Church of Scotland,	3	13	15	74	71	. . .	3,594	13	170	1,677	5,845
27. General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland	36	570	656	2,004	. . .	83	106,053	1,081	8,391	112,167	146,088
<i>Carried forward.</i>	51	912	1,005	4,429	3,853	111	189,267	1,094	16,255	208,585	£423,082

STATISTICAL RETURNS.—CONTINUED.

Churches.	Number of Presbyteries or Classes.	Number of Congregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Church Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Sabbath-school Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
<i>Brought forward.</i>	51	912	1,005	4,429	3,853	111	189,267	1,094	16,255	208,585	£423,082
28. General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Ireland	4	39	27	153	266	1	4,112	25	181	1,838	. . . .
29. Synod of the Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Church in Ireland . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
30. Synod of the Original Secession Church in Ireland.	2	10	7	45	70	.	1,230	11	60	700	.
31. General Assembly of the Church of Scotland . .	84	1,832	1,513	10,798	.	273	674,293	2,184	20,211	281,312	518,590
32. General Assembly of the United Free Church . .	64	1,710	1,808	15,720	18,534	160	498,476	2,480	26,518	340,948	1,046,932
33. General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland	11	104	31	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15,001
34. Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland	3	18	13	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
35. Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland	2	9	8	60	60	.	1,040	8	77	800	.
<i>Carried forward.</i>	221	4,634	4,412	31,205	22,783	545	1,368,418	5,802	63,302	834,183	2,003,605

STATISTICAL RETURNS.—CONTINUED.

Churches.	Number of Presbyteries or Classes.	Number of Congregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Communicant Church Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
<i>Brought forward,</i>											
36. Synod of the United Original Secession Church,	221	4,634	4,412	31,205	22,783	545	1,368,418	5,802	63,302	834,183	£2,003,605
37. General Assembly of the Calvinistic Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales	4	28	26	167	174	1	3,611	22	221	2,277	5,321
24	1,379	875	. . .	. . .	5,855	395	164,778	1,690	25,684	204,874	429,680
Total reported for Great Britain and Ireland . . .	249	6,041	5,313	31,372	28,812	941	1,536,807	7,514	89,207	1,041,334	£2,438,606
(C) Asia.											
38. Synod of the Reformed Church in the Dutch East Indies . . . . .	. .	34	40	. . .	. . .	. . .	22,706	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
39. Synod of the Native Reformed Church in the Dutch East Indies . . . .	. .	. . .	30	. . .	. . .	. . .	14,000	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
40. Synod of the Syrian Evangelical Church of Persia	4	16	32	87	26	35	2,549	68	221	3,385	. .
<i>Carried forward,</i>	4	50	102	87	26	35	39,255	68	221	3,385	. .

STATISTICAL RETURNS.—CONTINUED.

Churches.	Number of Presbyteries or Classes.	Number of Congregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Communicant Church Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Sabbath-school Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
<i>Brought forward,</i>	4	50	102	87	26	35	39,255	68	221	3,385	.
41. Synod of the Native Presbyterian Church of Amoy . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
42. Reformed Church of French Oceania . . . . .	.	.	28	.	.	.	2,248	.	.	.	.
43. Presbyterian Church in Manchuria . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
44. Mission Council of the Presbyterian Church in Korea . . . . .	.	24	.	.	20	.	6,391	79	.	.	.
45. General Synod of the Church of Christ in Japan	6	70	80	.	.	125	11,108	.	.	.	.
46. Presbytery of Tainan, Formosa . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
47. Presbytery of Ceylon,	1	6	6	19	12	.	800	.	.	.	.
48. Synod of South India, . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,442	.	.	5,394	.
49. Presbyterian Church in India . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Total reported from Asia,	11	150	216	106	58	160	62,244	147	221	8,779	.

STATISTICAL RETURNS.—CONTINUED.

Churches.	Number of Presbyteries or Classes.	Number of Congregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Church Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Sabbath-school Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
(D) Africa.											
50. Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, Cape Colony	13	128	150	650	800	. . .	105,596	809	. . .	28,213	. . .
51. Synod of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church in South Africa		33	26	103	100	. . .	8,771	20	. . .	200	. . .
52. General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in Natal		5	3	14	28	. . .	2,083	5	. . .	500	. . .
53. General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Transvaal Colony	4	37	33	226	347	. . .	31,497	205	732	10,851	. . .
54. Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Orange River Colony	5	38	42	202	360	. . .	36,261	25	. . .	3,000	. . .
55. Synod of the Christian Reformed Church in South Africa		34	16	132	135	. . .	6,095	27	. . .	2,000	. . .
<i>Carried forward,</i>	22	275	270	1,327	1,770	. . .	190,303	1,091	732	44,764	. . .

STATISTICAL RETURNS.—CONTINUED.

Churches.	Number of Presbyteries or Classes.	Number of Congregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Church Communicant Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Sabbath-school Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
<i>Brought forward,</i>	22	275	270	1,327	1,770	. . .	190,303	1,091	732	44,764	. . .
56. General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in South Africa.	7	68	58	352	485	3	11,323	. . .	530	9,346	. . .
57. Synod of the U. F. Church Mission in Kaffraria, . . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
58. Synod of the Presbyterian Mission Church in Basutoland . . . . .	. . .	17	24	. . .	. . .	. . .	10,098	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
59. Presbytery of Livingstonia, C. A. . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Total reported for Africa.	29	360	352	1,679	2,255	3	211,724	1,091	1,262	54,110	. . .
(E) North America.											
60. General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.	55	1,815	1,365	7,708	12,477	. . .	222,031	3,154	21,872	183,538	£433,532
61. Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland . . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
<i>Carried forward,</i>	55	1,815	1,365	7,708	12,477	. . .	222,031	3,154	21,872	183,538	£433,532

Churches.	Number of Presby- teries or Classes.	Number of Con- gregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Communicant Church Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
<i>Brought forward,</i>	55	1,815	1,365	7,708	12,477	. . .	222,031	3,154	21,872	183,538	£433,532
62. Synod of the Mara- time Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland,	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
63. General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.	239	7,822	7,705	29,345	10,389	255	1,067,477	8,207	118,182	964,460	3,627,993
64. General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.	82	3,044	1,517	9,325	8,100	52	235,142	2,157	20,786	176,664	460,264
65. General Assembly of the Cumberland Presby- terian Church	118	2,960	1,616	10,182	4,140	109	185,113	. . .	. . .	109,394	206,958
66. Presbytery of the Re- formed Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg and Ontario. .	1	3	1	10	17	. . .	700	3	20	300	675
67. General Assembly of the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
<i>Carried forward,</i>	495	15,644	12,204	56,570	35,123	416	1,710,463	13,521	160,860	1,434,356	4,729,422

STATISTICAL RETURNS.—CONTINUED.

Churches.	Number of Presby- teries or Classes.	Number of Con- gregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Church Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Sabbath-school Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
<i>Brought forward,</i>	495	15,644	12,204	56,570	35,123	416	1,710,463	13,521	160,860	1,434,356	£4,729,422
68. General Assembly of the Welsh Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. . . .	18	182	92	459	500	20	12,152	185	1,696	12,280	20,000
69. General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America .	69	998	1,026	3,982	. . .	82	135,651	1,785	13,119	134,149	384,341
70. Synod of the Asso- ciate Reformed Church of the South	9	152	106	620	500	5	12,454	125	1,004	8,630	19,258
71. General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America. . . .	7	44	40	176	220	8	4,938	31	. . .	. . .	8,686
72. Synod of the Re- formed Presbyterian Church in America	12	114	128	456	338	21	9,640	127	. . .	10,088	40,509
73. General Synod of the Reformed Church in Amer- ica.	34	641	703	. . .	. . .	. . .	113,499	757	. . .	118,546	335,352
74. Synod of the Presby- terian Church in Mexico .	4	80	44	92	. . .	13	5,081	. . .	. . .	2,590	2,503
<i>Carried forward.</i>	648	17,855	14,343	62,355	36,681	565	2,003,878	16,531	176,679	1,720,639	5,540,071

Churches.	Number of Presbyteries or Classes.	Number of Congregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Church Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Sabbath-school Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
<i>Brought forward,</i>	648	17,855	14,343	62,355	36,681	565	2,003,878	16,531	176,679	1,720,639	£5,540,071
75. Synod of the Christian Reformed Church in America	9	161	102	500	500	. .	21,199	150	. .	. . . .	. . . .
76. General Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States	58	1,691	1,112	3,320	6,256	40	255,408	1,662	4,796	483,871	55,988
Total as reported	715	19,707	15,557	66,175	43,437	605	2,280,485	18,343	181,475	2,204,510	£5,596,059
(F) South America.											
77. Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Brazil	4	75	41	. .	. . . .	. . . .	6,000	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
78. Presbytery of British Guiana . . . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
79. Classis of Dutch Reformed Church, Surinam . . . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
Total as reported	4	75	41	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	6,000	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
(G) West India Islands.											
80. Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica	6	34	28	402	. . . .	3	12,017	104	986	12,283	£8,164
Total	6	34	28	402	. . . .	3	12,017	104	986	12,283	8,164

STATISTICAL RETURNS.—CONTINUED.

Churches.	Number of Presby- teries or Classes.	Number of Con- gregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Communicant Church Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Sabbath-school Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
(H) Australasia.											
81. General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia	39	537	532	1,856	. . . . .	. . . . .	49,310	1,065	7,103	69,137	. . . . .
82. General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand	15	194	197	1,085	2,500	. . . . .	28,000	429	3,340	28,529	. . . . .
83. Missionary Synod of the New Hebrides . . . . .	. . .	24	25	19	29	. . . . .	3,483	45	64	2,984	. . . . .
Total	54	755	754	2,960	2,529	. . . . .	80,793	1,539	10,507	100,650	. . . . .

APPENDIX

SUMMARY OF CHURCH STATISTICS, 1904.

Churches.	Number of Presby- teries or Classes.	Number of Con- gregations.	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons, or Managers.	Licentiates, or Candidates for the Ministry.	Communicant Church Members.	Sabbath Schools.	Sabbath-school Teachers and Officers.	Sabbath-school Pupils.	Contributions for all Purposes.
A. European Conti- nent	303	5,136	5,186	32,796	5,153	406	947,257	5,756	12,219	366,843	..
B. United Kingdom .	249	6,041	5,313	31,372	28,812	941	1,536,807	7,514	89,207	1,041,334	£2,438,606
C. Asia	11	150	216	106	58	160	62,244	147	221	8,779	..
D. Africa	29	360	352	1,679	2,255	3	211,724	1,091	1,262	54,110	..
E. North America .	715	19,707	15,557	66,175	44,437	605	2,280,485	18,343	181,475	2,204,510	5,596,059
F. South America .	4	75	41	..	..	..	6,000	..	..	..	..
G. W. India Islands,	6	34	28	402	..	3	12,017	104	986	12,283	8,164
H. Australasia . . .	54	755	754	2,960	2,529	..	80,793	1,539	10,507	100,650	..
Total for 1904 . .	1,371	32,258	27,447	135,490	83,244	2,118	5,137,327	34,494	295,877	3,788,509	8,042,829
" " 1899 . . .	1,382	29,746	26,521	126,607	79,789	3,444	4,852,096	32,368	336,385	3,462,715	6,418,041
" " 1896 . . .	1,305	29,364	26,477	119,465	88,957	..	4,627,149	31,968	318,409	2,201,531	6,304,620
" " 1892 . . .	1,249	23,495	23,951	120,933	69,805	..	4,125,906	25,708	405,985	3,020,795	..
" " 1888 . . .	1,406	25,787	23,077	117,345	62,225	..	3,271,680	28,216	231,113	2,546,517	..

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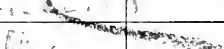

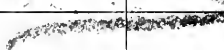

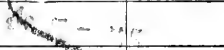


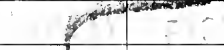

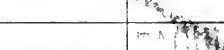

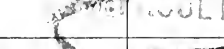



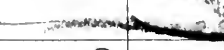

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